



# The Art of Embattailing AN ARMY.

O R,  
THE SECOND PART OF  
ÆLIANS TACTICKS.

Containing the Practice of the best *Generals* of all  
Antiquitie, concerning the formes of *Battailes*.

*Wherein all Motions requisite to be vsed in a Battaile  
both for offence and defence are fully expressed.*

Necessary and vsfull for all Martiall Spirits, that  
desire to haue knowledge in the Art Military.

*Englisbed and Illustrated with Figures and Obseruations  
vpon every CHAPTER.*

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By *Captaine* IOHN BINGHAM.

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TO THE RIGHT VVOR-  
SHIPFVLL SIR HVGH HAMERSLY,  
Knight, one of the Aldermen and Coronels of the  
Honorab! City of L O N D O N, and President of the  
Martiall Company, Exercising Armes in the Artillery  
Garden in L O N D O N.

TO CAPTAINE HENRY VVALLER,  
NOW CAPTAINE OF THE  
SAID COMPANT.

AND

TO ALL THE REST OF THE  
Worthy Captaines and Gentlemen of the  
said Company.

Captaine I. B. wisheth such valour and experience,  
as may make them victorious against all  
sorts of Enemies.

Worthy Gentlemen:



*H*ese my last endeuours vpon Ælian, I  
purposed to haue kept to mine owne pri-  
uate vse, and not to haue presented  
them to the view of the world. But now  
being to depart from you, and to iourney  
into a farre Countrey, and finding your  
kindnesse and loue toward me such, as I was not with any  
reason to expect, I altered my minde, and hauing nothing  
else

A 3

### The Epistle Dedicatory.

else to offer vnto you, I resolved to make this a monument of my thankfulness to you, and a testimony of my desire to doe you the best service I am able. For my paines herein, I leaue them to the iudgement of any learned Reader; for the profit of the Treatise, I say no more but this, it containeth the practise of the best Generals of all antiquity concerning the formes of Battailes. And whereas many bold opinion, that it sorteth not with the vse of our times, they must giue me leaue to be of another mind: Indeed our actions in Warre are onely now a dayes and sieges oppugnations of Cities; Battailes wee beare not of, saue onely of a few in France, and that of Newport in the Low-Countries. But this manner will not last alwayes, nor is there any Conquest to be made without Battailes. He that is Master of the field, may dispose of his affaires as he listeth; hee may spoyle the Enemies Countrey at his pleasure, he may march where he thinketh best, he may lay siege to what Towne he is disposed, he may raise any siege that the Enemy hath layed against him or his. Neither can any man be Master of the field without Battaille, in ordering whereof, that Generall that is most skilfull, seldome misseth of winning the day: experience of former times cleares this. I should exceede the compasse of an Epistle if I brought the examples, which serue to this purpose. Now for the skill of ordering Battailes, it is not to be learned out of the practise of our dayes, wherein when we come into the field, we make shewes, and musters rather, then obserue any formes of Battailes for vse: Battailes must not be alwayes of one figure. The wise Generals of ancienter times, fashioned their battailes according to the range, which they saw the Enemy had before taken vp. The place often maketh an altera-

### The Epistle Dedicatory.

alteration in that forme, which otherwise would serue to our purpose. He that is acquainted but with one forme, if he be forced to change that vpon the sudden, disordereth his troopes, and bringeth all into a confusion. The knowledge of the formes of battailes being then so necessary for a Generall, this little Pamphlet must needs be welcome to them that desire the manning of fields, and the command of Armes. For here haue you all formes expressed, together with their vse; so that the Generall that is acquainted with the practise of these precepts, shall not be to seeke to make transmutation of his battaille, into what forme soeuer necessity shall require, & that vpon the sudden. As for them that hold, that great Ordnance will not admit any of these ancient formes in our dayes, I hold that for a dreame, and not worthy the answering; since the inuention of great Ordnance, we neuer read of any forme of battaille disordered thereby; some slaughter hath beene made by great Ordnance, and the Army that suffered by great Ordnance, hath beene forced the sooner to ioyne with the Enemy; when the Armies are ioyned, great Ordnance hath and must sit still, and looke about as an idle Spectator, seruing for no other vse, then for a pray to him that gaineth the field. Now for small shot, it succeedeth in the place of the light-armie of antiquity. By them a Battaille may be broken, if they be not repressed, and themselves cut off in time. But what is said of them, that may not be said of Bowes and Arrows? The greatest fields that we gained against the French, were gained onely by our Archery. To say nothing of other Nations, that had the skill of shooting: so th it no reason can be alleaiged why the formes of Battailes used by antiquity for aduantage, may not be as well used in our dayes.

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

*dayes. Howsoever the matter standeth, my desire is, that the Treatise may with your fauourable acceptance beare your names in the Front thereof. Not because I thinke it worthy of your Patronage, but for that I would haue it appeare to the world, how much I esteeme of your kindnesse (as I said) and of your loue, which you expressed toward me in my taking leaue of the City. The Lord of hostes haue you in his keeping.*

Your seruant, as heretofore,

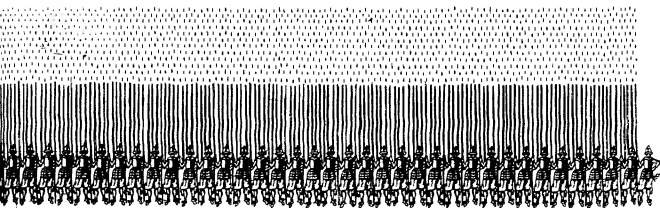
to doe you seruice.

JOHN BINGHAM.



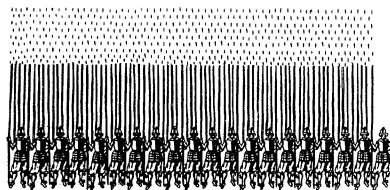
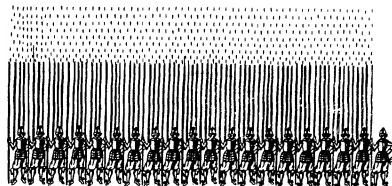
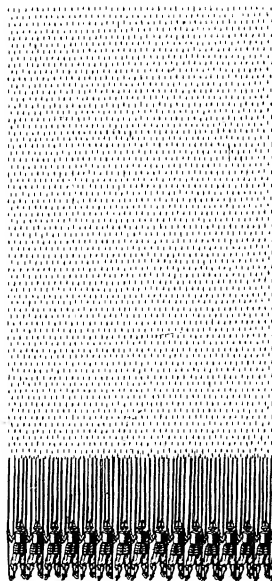
Plagiophalanx or the Brode-fronted  
Phalange

Cap. 30.



Loxe-Phalanx or the uneven fronted  
Phalange

Orthophalanx or the Even




The Front



## THE TACTICKS OF *ÆLIAN*, OR THE ART OF EMBATTAL- LING ARMIES.

*The broad-fronted Phalange, the deepe Phalange, or Horse, and  
the vneuen-fronted Phalange.*

### CHAP. XXX.

(1)  *Lagiophalange*, or the broad-fronted *Phalange*, is that, which hath the (2) length manifoldly exceeding the depth.

(3) *Orthiophalange*, or the deepe *Phalange* (now commonly called the *Horse*) is that, which proceedeth by a (4) winge, hauing the depth much exceeding the length. In generall speech every thing is called (5) *Paramakes*, which hath the length more then the depth; and that which hath the depth more then the length

(6) *Orthion*: and so likewise a *Phalange*.

The *Phalange* (7) *Laxe*, or vneuen-fronted, that is, which putteth forth one of the wings (which is thought fittest) towards the Enemy, and with it begins the fight, holding off the other in a conuenient distance, till opportunity be to aduance.

### NOTES.

**T**His Chapter and the next, seeme not to hold their right place: for being set before the manner how to wheele, and likewise before closings, and inserted betwixt the motions of the <sup>a</sup> *Phalange* (to which motions, or to one of them, the manner of *wheeling* and *closings* appertaine) they interrupt the method or orderly handling of the said motions; which method *Ælian* curiously obserueth through his whole Booke. Besides, *Ælian* himselfe, after a manner pointeth out the true place of them, in that in the 24 Chapter, rehearsing shortly the appellations or words of Military discipline; he placeth these formes after Induction and Deduction: I take it therefore, that their proper place is after the 37 Chapter, the rather, because all the formes of Marches from thenceforth handled, are either *Squares* of the one kinde or other, or else spring out of these *Squares*. I <sup>b</sup> noted before

B

fore

<sup>c</sup> Cap. 18.



## The Tactics of Aelian, or

not to be led in a broad-fronted Phalange (because the places are wayes through which you are to march, are sometimes large, sometimes straight, sometimes rough, sometimes plaine, and so you cannot preferre an even front, but must change the forme and disorder it) but in a *Herse* or *deepe Phalange*, which will fit all passages, and in the greatest inequality of way maintain the forme of the battaile entire. And so much of the signification of the words marching in a *Wing*, and marching in a *Phalange*.

5. Euery thing is called *Parametres*.] It is to be obserued, that there is a difference betweene *Parametres* and *Heterometres*: I thought good to note it, because Aelian in diuers places mentioneth both. *Parametres* is the figure, according to Aelian, wherein the length many times exceeds the depth; it may be *Heterometres*, albeit it be but twice as long as deepe. I am not ignorant that *Euclide* nameth all foure sided figures, that haue right angles, and vnequall sides, *Heterometres*. But Aelian, though hee apply *Heterometres* sometimes to the *front*, sometimes to the *flanke*, yet he giues no more then a double proportion either of *front* to *flanke*, or *flanke* to *front*.

6. *Orithion*.] Albeit the word *Orithion* properly signifie things rising in a height, yet in military discourse it is applied to the dimension of the depth of a battell, and not of the length. Here a Phalange is termed *Orithion*, and in *Leo* in the place last by me cited, mention is made of *μακρομήκης*, and *ὀρθιον* battailing: and in Xenophon *ὀρθιον*, a Company stretched out in depth, as in *Polien* also, and *Arrian*, and *Appian*. *Polien* hath besides, *ὀρθιον*, and *ὀρθιον*, for an army, that is cast into a great depth, and into a narrow front. Therefore, as *Parametres* signifieth the length of the front; so *Orithion* signifies the depth of the flanke of any battell ordered, as is aforesaid. Thus much of the names of the two battels: It remains to shew the Use of them, and how one may be transformed into the other.

The *Plagiophalange*, or broad-fronted battell bringeth most hands to fight with conueniency, and therefore is accounted the better forme; and as neere as opportunity of ground would giue leaue, the ancient Generals principally affected, and sought to put this forme in vse: It hath the commodity to *ouersfront* the aduerser battell, and is safe it selfe from *ouersfronting*, vnlesse the Enemy bring a greater multitude then you haue to ouer-match your Army. The *Macedonian Phalange* was for the most part of this forme, as all the fields *Alexander* fought evidently declare; So ordered he his troopes at *Graecicus*, so at *Gangamelus*, so in other places, if the ground would serue. This Caution notwithstanding was obserued, that the depth held proportion with the length; otherwise the length profiteth not so much as the thinnesse of the depth hurts, by giuing meanes to the enemy to breake through, and put the aduerser battell in a rout. I haue noted it before out of *Leo*.

The *Herse*, or *deepe Phalange*, was thought the weakest kinde to fight in. *Parmentio*, one of the chiefeft Commanders *Alexander* had, distrusted it (as I haue shewed a little before.) *Cyrus* the elder, in the embattailing of the *Egyptians*, decided it; yet cannot the forme of the broad-fronted Phalange be exactly taken vp, but that necessity will sometime force the other. In straight places it hath bene often vied: So *Darius* in the battaile of *Iffos*, by reason of the straightnesse of ground, was forced to this forme: So *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*, was faine in a straight place to make a narrow front of his

## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

phalange, and to extend it in depth. And *Atilius Glabrio* the Roman Consul, in the streights of *Thermopylae* against *Artabazus*: and *P. Scipio* in *Spain* against the *Merges*. Therefore in large grounds the first forme is to be chosen, in narrow and rough places the other. The *Herse* is also fit for Marches, because in a March you are assured to meet with variety of ground; sometimes with woods, sometimes with bushes, sometimes with straight wayes, with riuers, with hills, with pits, with bridges, with ditches, and such like impediments, so that the front of your broad-fronted phalange must needs be dissolved; whereas no difficulty of wayes can hinder the passage of a *Herse*, the front whereof may be narrowed (according to the ground you march in) as you list. *Alexander* being to lead his Army against the *Thracians*; that had planned themselves in the mount *Emetis*, was faine to narrow the front of his phalange, according to the way that led vp to the Mount: The issue did *Agesilaus* passing through the streights of *Mantina*; the History is by me recited before in my notes vpon the 26 Chapter *Parmentio* likewise leading his Army through *Phocis* toward *Thebes*, and finding that the Enemy had taken and possessed a place called *Pontheaton*, that had two streights leading toward it, one of which the Enemy held with a garr, casting his troopes into a *Herse* to the right hand, as though he meant to hold on to that passage. The Enemy therefore leaving the left hand straight, which they had in garr, ran with all speed to the right hand to stop his passage; but hee taking the opportunity, speeded hastily to the left, and conveyed his Army thorough without danger. Many like examples of *Herses* accommodated to straight wayes, where a broad-fronted Phalange cannot march, are to be found in Histories. The *Orithiophalange* or *Herse* was also much used in an ascent against a hill which the enemy possessed: and in this sence are *ὀρθιον* deepe Companies taken in the Greekewriters, especially when a whole Company is put into a file, and 3 or 4 or more files laid together to make an *Orithiophalange*, in which sort they vied to mount vp against hills. Many examples be in their Histories of beating off Enemies from hill in this forme. *Cyrus* the elder vied it against the *Chaldeans*; *Xenophon* against the *Carducians*; *Cherisophus* in passing the river *Centris*, which riuer diuideth the mountanes of the *Carducians* from *Armenia*: the *Gracians* against the *Mojneccans*, that inhabited certain Mountaines which the *Gracians* were to mount. *Ptolomey* against the *Indians*, that embattailed themselves vpon a mountaine to resist the inuasion of *Alexander*. And a notable example of an Army ascending against a Mountaine, is described by *Xenophon*, in the fourth booke of the ascent of *Cyrus*; He relateth that the *Chaldeans* had taken vp a high Mountaine, and there imbattelled their Army to the intent to stop the passage of the *Gracians* in their returne out of *Peria*: The *Gracians* at the first ordered themselves into a Phalange, (a broad fronted battell) meaning in that forme to make their way. But afterwards the Chief-aines calling a Court, advised vpon their best course of fighting: *Xenophon*s opinion was, that laying aside the forme of a Phalange, it would be best to order themselves in Companies drawn out in file. For a Phalange, said he, will soon be broken, by reason of the inequality of the way, which in some parts of the Mountaine will be found easie enough, in other hard to ascend. And the soldiers will quickly be discouraged to see the Phalange disordered, in which they march: Besides, marching in a large front,

# The Tactics of Ælian, or

the enemies, that exceede us in number, will over-front us, and use their multitude to most advantage: In a narrow front it will be no marvaile to see our Phalange cut asunder with misive weapons, and with men ordered in battaile to charge us; whereby the whole Phalange will be distressed. Therefore, as I said, I hold it best to put the Armie into Companies stretched out in depth, going to each Company such distance one from another, that our wings may over-reach the uttermost points of the enemies battaile: and let every company make choice of their fittest way for ascent: As for the spaces betwixt company and company, it shall not be easie for the enemy to convey himselfe into them, all the companies on all sides (in case he enter) wrapping him in betwixt them: and if it chance that any company be distressed, the next company is to succour and aide it. Now say, that one company attaine to the top of the hill, you may be assured, that no enemy will keepe his ground. This Councille was assented to by all; When therefore ever man had taken his place, and the companies were laid out in their iust depth, the armed amounted to about 80 companies, in every of which were reckoned almost 100 men: The Targeteers and Archers were divided into three bodies, the first to march without the armed of the left wing, the second without the armed of the right, the third in the midst, every body consisting of well-nigh 600 men. After prayers made to the gods, the souldiers advanced, singing the <sup>a</sup> Peans; Then Cherifophus and Xenophon (leading the point of the Grecian battaile) and the Targetiers with them, who over-reached the enemies wings, hastened on a pace, and the enemy perceiving it, extended their wings to meet them, and by that means were distressed some to the right, some to the left hand, leaving an empty space in the midst of their Phalange. the Targetiers arme after the Arcadian manner, led by Æschines the Acharnan, seeing the enemies battaile disordered, and imagining them to flye, ranne forth with all speed, and were the first that gained the hill: they were seconded by the armed Arcadians, commanded by Cleonor the Orchomenian. When the Enemy saw them come running on, they forsooke their ground, and began to shift for themselves, one one way, another another: The Grecians having gained the Hill, encamped there. Hitherto Xenophon, out of whose practice the best adresse against an enemy, that possesseth a Hill, over which our Army is to march, may be learned: In a broad-fronted Phalange it is hard to proceede, both because of the inequality of the ground, which will easily breake the phalange, and disioynt all the parts thereof, and also for that the enemies weapons throwne from the higher ground will not lightly misse so great a body, and great stones, and other masse, tumbled downe, will beare downe and make ruine of whatsoeuer commeth in the way, impossible to misse in such an extension of length, and thronging of the Army: to lead in one and a continued Horse is no lesse dangerous. A few men, and those onely in front, shall come to fight against a multitude of enemies, who will over-front and charge them on all sides. Xenophons Councille then is to make diuers bodies, and to order them so severed in front and flanke, that they may over-front the enemy, and not be parted asunder with the vneuenesse of the ascent, nor yet proue too faire a marke for the enemies weapons. The Bodies are declared to be Companies each of 100 men; these so diuided one from another in distance likewise, that the vtermost bodies on both sides might be able to over-reach the points of the enemies wings, and to make choice of the best Ascent toward the height of the hill. Further, the forme of ordering the bodies is set downe, They were stretched out in depth (<sup>b</sup> *ἐν βάθει*;) Orthios loches is here taken for a Company ordered in one file; and it signifies as much

<sup>a</sup> *ᾠδὴν Πέαν*  
<sup>b</sup> *ἐν βάθει* *ἐν βάθει*  
800 armed.

1200 light-armed.

<sup>c</sup> A song or hymne to Apollo vied by the Grecians when they ioyned with the Enemy. *Int. Pol. l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.* But the Scholiastes of Thucydides saith, there were two Peans, one to Mars before victory, the other to Apollo after victory. *l. 1.*

# the Art of Embattailing Armies.

as <sup>a</sup> *ἡ ἀρχὴ*, a Company ordered one man singly after another: which phrase is used by <sup>b</sup> Xenophon elsewhere: and in the same sence <sup>c</sup> Thucydides vseth the phrase of placing ships one in a direct line after another *ἐν πλάτῃ*, which his scollasties interpreteth *πλάτῃ ἐκ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάτος*, having one after another. And <sup>d</sup> Polybins likewise of Ships hath the same phrase, *ἐν πλάτῃ* *ἐκ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάτος*, to be placed one after another; and in the same place *ἐν πλάτῃ*. Yet this passage out of Xenophon, where he mencioneth *ἐν βάθει*, hath a diuers signification from the common vlage of *ἐν βάθει* amongst other Grecians. It agreeth, in that, they led their Companies stretched out in file; it differeth, in that Xenophons files were placed in distance one from another, and had all an equall front in the manner of a <sup>e</sup> Plagio-phalange, where in the other examples they were ioyned; to the end to make an *Orthiophalange*, and in severall bodies to follow one another. I deny not that *ἐν βάθει* are otherwise taken in the wars of the Romans described by the Grecians.

So<sup>f</sup> Scipio ordering his battell against Hanniball in the fight of Africa, is reported by Appian to have disposed his Army into *Maniples*, distributed into three kinde of bodies, the *Maniples* to stand *ἐν βάθει*, one directly after another. How they stood <sup>g</sup> Polybius shewes, describing the same battaile; He saith, that Scipio ordered the *Hastati* and their ensignes first of all the rest, and in front, and gave internals to their maniples; behinde them the *Principes*, not against the internals of the *Hastati*, as the Roman manner was, but behinde them in a right line (because of the multitude of the Enemies Elephants: ) and lastly, the *Triarii*. On the wing of the left flanke he ranged <sup>h</sup> C. Celsius with the Italian Horse under him: on the right Massaniassa, and all the Numidian Horse, which he commanded. The internals of the first Ensignes (that is, of the *Hastati*) he filled with the bodies of light armed, commanding them first to undertake the fight; and in case they were not able to withstand the affront of the enemy, or of the Elephants, he willed them to retire; some, that could prevent the rest with speed, through the direct internals of the maniples to the reare of the army; other, that were in a manner surprisid, to the flanks, neere the Ensignes. This ordering of *Maniples* one directly after another, so termed and described by Polybins, Appian calleth *ἐν βάθει*; which notwithstanding, if truly examined, cannot according to the Grecian practise come within the compasse of that name. For the Grecians, as I said, drew their Companies severally each into a file; and laying foure, or five, or six, or more of them together, made a body, the depth whereof much exceeded the length, or breadth, the front being of 4. 5. or 6. men in ranke, the depth of 100, whereas the Romans, as appeareth by Polybins, kept their ordinary manner of embattelling, sauing that they placed their *principes* not against the internals of the *Hastati*, as their custome was, but directly behinde the *Maniples* of the *Hastati*, to the end the Elephants of the Carthaginians might have an empty and void lane, as it were, to passe through their whole Army: As for the Roman *Maniples* they consisted of two parts ioyned together, which they called <sup>i</sup> *Ordines*, and every *Ordo* contained 60 men, commanded by a Captaine; so that the *Manipulus* had in it 120 men, and two Captaines or Centurions. These 120 men being digited into files, containing 10 men a peece (for that was the length of file, as the depth of the *Manipulus*) make 12 files, which stood one by another ranged in front, not stretched one after another in depth. But because the *Maniples* of the *Hastati* principes, and the *Triarii*, stood directly one after another, therefore Appian called them

<sup>b</sup> Xenophon  
*l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.*  
<sup>c</sup> Thucydides  
*l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.*  
<sup>d</sup> Polybins  
*l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.*  
<sup>e</sup> Plagio-phalange  
*l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.*  
<sup>f</sup> Scipio  
*l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.*  
<sup>g</sup> Polybius  
*l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.*  
<sup>h</sup> C. Celsius  
*l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.*  
<sup>i</sup> Ordines  
*l. 1. c. 1. §. 33.*







# The Tactics of Aelian, or

nerals as a forme of advantage in fight. The firstonely to win a passage, as I take it, ouer a riuer, or such like (where the broad-fronted Phalange could not passe) and to bring the Armie to a ground, where it might be ordered in better forme for fight. I will giue one Example (for I read not many) of the first; <sup>6</sup> Alexander hauing conuicted his armie ouer Hellepont, and entred into Phrygia, came as farre as the riuer Granicus. Three Lieutenants of Darius with 20000. Horse, and well nigh as many foot, had embattelled themselves on the oth. r side of the riuer to hinder his passage: The riuer was full of depths and shallows some what dangerous to enter, and the bankes on the further side high, rough, and steepe; besides, the Enemy was ready with horse cast into a long or broad-fronted phalange, and with seconds of foot to beat him backe, that should offer to clymbe the bankes. Alexander being resolued to passe ouer, first ordered his troopes in a broad-fronted phalange: The right wing he commanded himselfe, and gaue the command of the left to Parmenio; then putting the Scout-horse with the Paonians into the riuer, and after them a Phalangarchy of foot led by Amyntas the sonne of Arrabius, and then Ptolemy the sonne of Phillip, who commanded the troope of Socrates, which troope had the v. ant of all the horse that day, himselfe with the right wing entred the riuer (the Trumpets sounding, and the Army giuing a shout) extending still his battell base-wise against the Stream (απέναντι τῷ ποταμῷ) to the end the Persians might not fall upon him, as he led in a wing, but himselfe, as much as was possible, might come to ioyne with them, hauing the front of his phalange extended in length. The Persians cast <sup>h</sup> Darts from the high ground against the troopes of Amyntas and of Socrates, as they approached to the further bankes, and some of them, where the ground was more even, descended to the brinke of the riuer; so there was thrusting and sholdering of Horsemen, some to ascend out of the riuer, some to hinder the ascent. The Persians let flye many a dart, the Macedonians fought with speares: The first Macedonians that came to hands with the Persians, were cut a peeces fighting valiantly, saue only those that retired vnto Alexander, who was now nere advanced with the right wing: He him self first of all charged the Persians, where the principal strength of the whole body of their horse and the Generals of the field stood; about him was a strong fight, and in the meane time one troope after another passed easily ouer the riuer. This passage of the History is long, and therefore I forbear to recite the rest, onely I adde, that after a long fight the Persians were forced to flye, and the victory remained with Alexander. And this, that I haue recited, may serue to shew the vse of this kinde of Laxe-phalange, which was practised by Alexander to no other end, then to gaine the passage of the riuer; for in this forme hee would neuer haue fought, nor is there any president for it out of his battels ranged vpon euén ground, where he might haue chosen the forme he liked best; but here he was to get ouer a riuer, the enemy held the bankes on the other side with 20000. Horse ordered in a broad phalange; the riuer was full of shallows and depths, and thereby hardly passable; the bankes on the other side steepe and broken, and hard to ascend: Parmenio dissuaded him to lead in a wing or horse, and himselfe had no great fancie to aduenture in that forme. In a broad-fronted phalange he could not, which must needs haue bene broken by the vnequall footing in the bottome of the riuer? What did hee then? hee thought best to choise a passable foord, and through it to put ouer the right wing of his Army slope-wise toward the further bankes, whither when they came, they should proceed against the streame; that the front being still extended, and the rest comming vp and ioyning, he might front toward and

charge

# the Art of Embattailing Armies.

charge the Enemy phalange-wise. And that this was his meaning is plaine by <sup>a</sup> Polyen, who rehearsing the same Stratagem, saith, that Alexander led his Army in that forme along the further bankes to the end to ouer-front the Enemies Horse-battaille: So that this kinde of Laxe or vneuen-fronted Phalange is no forme to fight in, as I conceiue, but hath bene sometimes taken vp, as a meanes to attaine to a ground fit for a better forme; as Alexander changed it as soone as he came to the banks of the riuer on the other side.

The other (as I said) great Generals haue vsed, and by it haue gained great victories. I will adde an example or two, whereby the vse of it may more clearely appeare: Epaminondas the Theban in a field against the Lacedemonians, gained a famous victory by this forme: <sup>b</sup> Diadormus Siculus writeth <sup>b</sup> Diad. Sic. l. i. c. 1. thus, The Bæotians also being ready to fight, the battailes on both sides were fashioned in this order: Amongst the Lacedemonians the Chiefestaymes of the race of Hercules had the wings (viz. Cleombrotus the King, and Archidamus who was the sonne of Agellaius, the other King.) On the Bæotian side Epaminondas vsing a peculiar and choise kinde of embattailing, obtained a renowned victory by his martiall skill: For, selecting the best men out of all his troopes, he opposed them against one of the Enemies wings, himselfe resolving in his owne person to try the fortune of the day with them. Against the other wing he set the weakest, commanding them to fight retreating, and to giue ground by little and little, when the Enemy came on to charge; framing therefore an vneuen-fronted Phalange, he determined to hazard the fight with that wing, which consisted of his chosen Soldiers: The Trumpets sounded, and the Armies gaue a shout, and the Lacedemonians figuring a halfe Moone thrust out both their wings of purpose to enuiron the Bæotians, who with one of their wings retired, with the other ran forth to ioyne with the Enemy: after ioyning, the Victorie hung a good while doubtfull thorough the valour of both parties, notwithstanding Epaminondas by the manhood of his people, and the thicknesse of his battaile hauing the better, many of the Lacedemonians felt; for they were not able to endure the weight of the resolution of those chosen men, yet so long as Cleombrotus liued, and had many to ioyne Targets for his defence, and ready to dye before him, the sway of victory was vncertaine: But after he had cast himselfe into all kinde of dangers, and yet could not force the Enemy to retire, fighting heroically he was borne to ground with many wounds, and so ended his daies: There arose a flocking and concourse about his body, and multitudes of dead men were heaped one vpon another. This wing, being now without a Commander, was hardly laid to by Epaminondas, and first with plaine force somewhat disordered. The Lacedemonians on the other side, brauely bazar- ding for their King, recovered his dead body, but could not attaine to the victory: as also the selected band, albeit provoked by the vertue and exhortation of Epaminondas, it used extraordinary valour, yet with much adoe did it force the battaile of the Lacedemonians, who first giuing backe, somewhat disordered themselves; at last many falling, and no man being to command them, the whole armie tooke it selfe to flight. Epaminondas his soldiers followed the chace, slew many, made themselves Masters of the field, and carried away a notable and famous victory. Their honour was the more, because they fought with the most valiant men of all the Grecians, and overcame them being many more in number then themselves; contrary to all mens expectation; but of all other Epaminondas was the man that merited most praise, who by his owne valour and martiall skill, won a battaile against those Generals of Greece, which to that day were held invincible. This Testimony of the Laxe phalange is somewhat long, but the worthinesse of the circumstances will, I hope, beare

C

me

Polyen. l. 9. c. 10.

Diad. Sic. l. i. c. 1.

The Lacedemonians had by law two Kings at once.

Polyen. l. 9. c. 10.

Polyen. l. 9. c. 10.

The Bæotians were so desperate, the Lacedemonians so. Xenoph. Dist. l. 6. c. 6. § 1.



me out to recite it, wherein the forme agreeable to *Ælian* is first to be noted, as *advancing one wing against the Enemy, and holding off the other*; albeit it goes a little further then *Ælian* prescribeth, in that the *wing kept off*, stood nor still, waiting time to come forward, but when the Enemy came vp, ioyned with him, giuing ground, of purpose to distract his phalange, and on that side to busie him with a slow fight, lest happily he might giue vpon the aduerse flanke of *Epaminondas* and succour his owne partie that already was in fight. It sheweth besides, the aduantage of Military skill; for the *Lacedemonians*, Masters of Armes at that day in *Greece*, having fashioned a *halfe Moone*, and imagining in that forme to inclose the small number of the *Beotians*, and to charge them on euery side, *Epaminondas* with his *Laxe Phalange* so plyed the front of their wings, that the rest of the *halfe Moone*, being neuer able to strike stroake, became vnprofitable: It shewes further what kinde of battaile is fittest to encounter the *halfe moone*: Lastly, it hath the reason and vse of the *Laxe phalange*; that is, to charge one of the Enemies wings with the best and strongest part of our forces, and at the same instant to annoy him with the other wing, thereby to embarre him from giuing aide to his people that were in fight. <sup>5</sup> *Alexander* vsed this forme at *Gaugamela*, beginning the fight and victory with his *right wing*, and after with his victorious troopes succouring his *left wing*, that was in danger to be routed by the *Persians*. The like forme with the like successe was vsed by <sup>h</sup> *Antigonus* against *Eumenes*; it is a battaile worth the rehearsing, but I haue bene long in the Example of *Epaminondas*, and therefore referre the Reader to the quotation. <sup>i</sup> *Demetrius* framed the like battaile against *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*, albeit he were frustrated of his hopes in the euent by the foresight of *Ptolomy*, who opposed his choicest troopes against that wing of *Demetrius*, which was first to vnder-take the charge. Hitherto of these three formes of *Phalanges*, see the figures, in which albeit the two first be portraited without intervals, yet you must in the *broad-fronted Phalange* vnderstand the three intervals vsuall in the *Macedonian fourefold Phalange*: and in the *herse* the spaces betwixt the reare of the bodies that lead, and of the front of those that follow.

<sup>5</sup> *Diod. l. 17. 592. E*

<sup>h</sup> *Diod. l. 19. 686.*

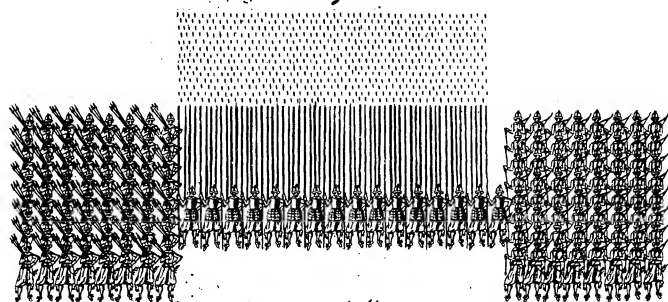
<sup>i</sup> *Diod Sic. l. 19. 716.*

*Parembolè, Protaxis, Epitaxis, Prostaxis, Entaxis, and Hypotaxis.*

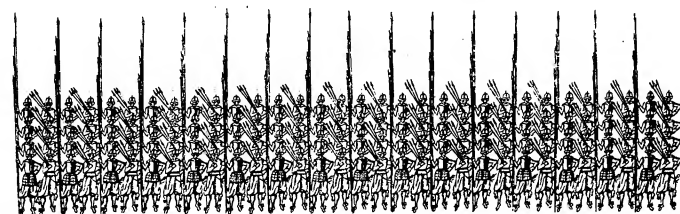
#### CHAP. XXXI.

(1) *Parembolè*, or *insertion*, is, when Souldiers being placed in a body, we take some of the hindmost, and order them within the distances of the first, drawing them vp in an equall front. (2) *Protaxis*, or *forefronting*, is, when we place the light armed before the front of the Armed, and make them foreflankers as the file-leaders are: (3) When we order the light armed behind, it is called *Epitaxis*, as it were an after-placing. (4) *Prostaxis*, or *adjoyning*, is, when to both flanks of the battell, or to one flanke, some of the hindmost are added, the front of them which are added lying even with the front of the battell. This addition is called *Prostaxis*. (5) *Entaxis* or *infiton*, is, when it seemeth good to set the light Armed within the spaces of the *Phalange*, man to man. (6) *Hypotaxis* or *double-winging*, is, when a man bestoweth the light armed on the wings of the phalange, so that the whole figure resembleth a threefold gate or doore.

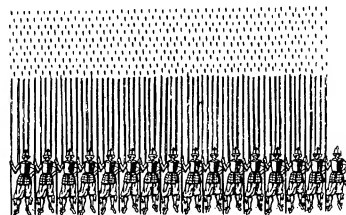
This



*Hypotaxis, or double-winging*



*Entaxis, or insertion*



*Protaxis, or forefronting*

NOTES.

THIS Chapter sheweth the enlarging of a *Phalange* or battell, by diuers placings partly of the armed, partly of the light-armed. It is not hard to be vnderstood; the rather because most of the alterations here mentioned are spoken of heretofore either in *Ælian*, or in my notes: Sixe formes are here set downe, two by changing the place of some of the Armed, the other foure by changing the place of the light-armed, the armed are altered by <sup>b</sup> *Parembolè* or <sup>c</sup> *Prostaxis*, the light armed by <sup>d</sup> *Protaxis*, <sup>e</sup> *Epitaxis*, <sup>f</sup> *Entaxis*, and <sup>g</sup> *Hypotaxis*; what the signification of each is shall be shewed in the notes following.

1. *Parembolè*.] This must alwayes be of armed, which are taken from the reare of the Armed, and inserted betwixt the files of the front: of this kinde is the doubling of the front by middle men with their halfe files, whereof *Ælian* hath spoken in the 29 Chapter, see the figure there.

2. *Protaxis* or *fore-fronting*.] I haue shewed before in the notes vpon the seuenth Chapter, that the light-armed were diuersly placed in the front, in the reare, on the wings, within the battell; when they are placed before, it is called *Protaxis*, see the figure here: <sup>b</sup> *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus* being to fight against *Demetrius*, who had many Elephants, placed the light armed before, to the intent to wound the Elephants and turne them away from their *Phalange*: so *Alexander*, so *Darius*, at the battaile of *Issus*, placed *darters* and *slingers* before the fronts of their *phalange*: they serue greatly to annoy the Enemy being so placed, especially being not charged with *horse* or *pikes*; if they be charged with either, they are to retire into the interualls of their owne battaile of pikes: See *Onofander* cited by me in my notes vpon the 7 Chapter of this Booke.

3. *Epitaxis*.] Ordering of the light-armed behinde was the vsuall manner of the *Macedonian* Embattelling, from whence they drew them at pleasure to any place of seruice: see the 7 Chapter.

4. *Prostaxis*.] it is, when armed are taken from behinde and laid to one or both flanks of the battell fronting euen with the front thereof, which is a doubling of rankes, as is before shewed, done when the hinder halfe files diuide themselves, march out and front with the fileleaders, or else march out entirely without diuision.

*Entaxis*.] Incision is alwayes of the light armed into the spaces of the armed. It is all one with *parentaxis*, another Greeke word vied in the same sence.

6. *Hypotaxis*.] Placing of the light armed on the wings was much vsed in ancient time, as the manner is also at this day: but *Ælian* would haue them so placed, that the eminency of them should make a hollow front in the battaile: *Patritius* taketh *Hypotaxis* to be the placing of the light armed in the reare, which seemeth to be a mistaking, both because the placing of them in the reare is in this Chapter called *Epitaxis*, and also because there being foure manners of ordering the light-armed, one in the front, another in the reare, the third within the body of the *Phalange* man to man, the fourth in the wings: if this ordering should be vnderstood to be behinde the *Phalange*, there would be two kinds of placing of the light armed in the reare, and none

<sup>b</sup> Doubling the front by middle men.  
<sup>c</sup> Adioyning.  
<sup>d</sup> Forefronting.  
<sup>e</sup> Placing affect.  
<sup>f</sup> Placing betweene.  
<sup>g</sup> Placing on the wings.

<sup>b</sup> *Diad. Sic. l. 19.*  
<sup>c</sup> 717. 4.

# The Tacticks of *Ælian*, or

of ordering them in the *flankes*: Besides, when *Ælian* saith, they are placed *ὑπὸ τῶν πτερῶν τοῦ παρατάγματος*, vnder the *wings* of the battell, he sufficiently expresseth himselfe, the *flankes* of the battaile on both sides being the vntermost parts of the *wings*.

The Use, and aduantage of these exercises of Armes.

## CHAP. XXXIV.



These precepts of *turning* about of faces, of *wheeling*, and *double wheeling* of the battaile, and of reducing it to the first posture, are of great vse in (1) sodaine approaches of the Enemy, whether he shew himselfe on the right or left hand, or in the reare of our march. The like may be said of *Counter-marches*, of which the *Macedonians* are held to be the inuenters of the *Macedonian*, the *Lacedemonians* of the *Lacedemonian*, from whom the Appellations are accordingly drawne. The Histories witness, that *Phillip* (who much enlarged the *Macedonian* Kingdome, and ouer-came the *Grecians* in a battaile at *Cheronea*, and made himselfe Generall of *Grecia*) and likewise his Sonne *Alexander*, who in short time conquered all *Asia*, made small account of the *Macedonian counter-march*, vnlesse necessity forced it; and that by vse of the *Lacedemonian*, they both became victorious ouer their enemies. For the *Macedonian counter-march*, the Enemy falling vpon the reare, is cause of great disorder, in as much as the hindermost marching vp to the front, and making shew of running away, it more incourageth and emboldeneth the Enemy to fall on, for feare and pursuit of the Enemy is ordinarily incident to this *Counter-march*: but the *Lacedemonian counter-march* is of contrary effect; for when the Enemy shewes himselfe in the reare, the *file-leaders* with their followers brauely aduancing, and opposing themselves, it striketh no small feare and terror into their mindes.

## NOTES.

ALL the foure motions of a battaile; Facing, Counter-marching, Doubling, and Wheeling, are before handled: In this Chapter *Ælian* briefly rehearseth the vse of them, especially in

1. Sodaine approaches of the Enemy.] If the Enemy come sodainely vpon vs, he must direct himselfe either against our *front*, or our *reare*, or our *flankes*. If \* against our *front*, we neede no other motion then that whereby we may strengthen our front, which is vually done by *doubling of ranks*; we march for the most part in a *herse*, in which forme there cannot come many hands to fight: and that is the reason why it is accounted the *weakest* forme to ioyne with the Enemy. <sup>b</sup> *Doubling of ranks* helpeth that defect, and bringeth as many hands to fight, as the proportion of forces will allow: If against the <sup>c</sup> *reare*, and time streight you not, and your battell be in *open order*, you haue the vse of <sup>d</sup> *counter-march*, which bringeth the best hands to fight; for the *File-leaders* are esteemed the flower of the Army: your battaile being in *order* or *close order*, you are to <sup>e</sup> *wheele* it about to your right or left hand,

<sup>a</sup> Against the front.

<sup>b</sup> Doubling of ranks.

<sup>c</sup> Against the reare.

<sup>d</sup> Counter-march.

<sup>e</sup> Wheeling.

Cap. 32.

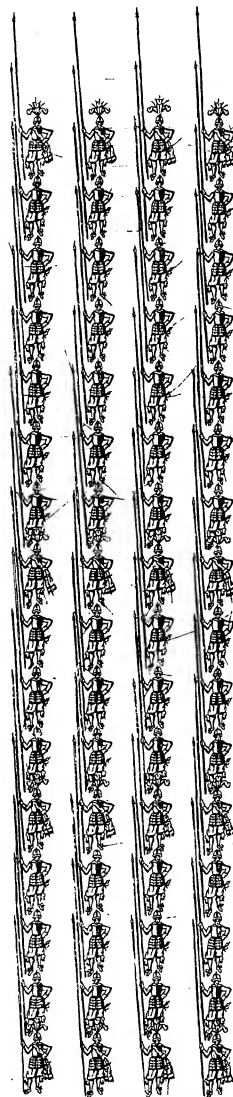
The action of wheeling.



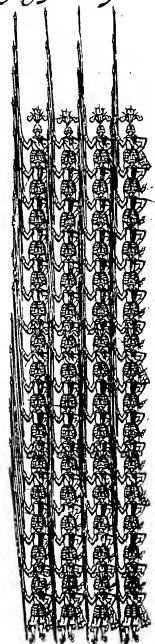
Cap. 32.  
The manner of wheeling

The first posture

Closing of files



Closing of ranks forward



The Front

Cap 22  
Of Congress

Clipping to the master

The front after sailing

right  
action

Clipping to  
left hand

Clipping to  
right hand

The front before sailing

The front of y<sup>e</sup> maine before sailing

hand, and so to oppose the front against the Enemy. But in both these motions the caution of *Ælian* is, that the Enemy surprize you not whilst you are in the action of *countermarch* or *wheeling*, lest taking his advantage, hee charge you being in disorder. Therefore if he come so neere, that you have no liberty to *countermarch* or *wheele*, your onely refuge is to *face about* to the right or left hand, for so he shall not be able to giue vpon your backe: If the enemy appeare vpon any *flanke*, *countermarch* of the Front will not auaille, much lesse doubling against the flanke of ranks, or files, but you must either *wheele* your Front to the flanke, or if you haue not time enough so to doe, you are to *face* your battell to that hand: The vse of these motions hath been handled in their severall Chapters more at large.

*Of the Signes of Direction which are to be giuen to the Army, and of their severall kindes.*

CHAP. XXXV.



WE are to acquaint our Forces both Foot and Horse, perfectly with the (1) *voice*, and perfectly with (2) *visible signes*, that whatsoever is fitting may be executed and done, as occasion shall require. (3) Some things also are to be denounced by the *Trumpet*: for so all directions will be fully accomplished, and sort to a desired effect. (4) The signes therefore which are deliuered by *voice*, are most euident and cleere, if they haue no impediment. (5) But the most certaine and least tumultuous signes are such as are presented to the eye: if they be not obscured. The *voice* sometime cannot bee heard by reason of the clashing of Armour, or trampling or neying of Horses, or tumult of carriage, or noise and confused sound of the multitude. The *visible signes* also become many waies vncertaine, by thicknesse of ayre, by dust, by raine, or snow, or sunshine, or else through ground that is vneuen or full of trees, or of turnings. And sometimes it will not be easie to find out *signes* for all vses, occasions, and circumstances presenting new matter, to which a man is not accustomed: yet can it not so fall out, that either by *voice*, or by *signall*, we should not giue sure and certaine direction.

NOTES.

THE ordinary motions in a Phalange are all represented by *Ælian*. Now cometh hee to speake of Signes, which direct and are meanes of effecting all these motions, and without which the Army is no Army, but remains a body vngouernable, and may aptly be resembled to a Shippe that hath no rudder: For as a Ship in a tempest is driuen by all winde, tossed by waues, throwne euery way vpon rockes, vpon sands, vpon dangerous shoares, that is not guided by the Master, who standeth and moueth at the helme; So an Army not directed by *signes*, and forecast of the General, is carried away through ignorance and violence of affection, sometimes of anger, sometimes of feare, sometimes of reuenge, and other vnbridled desires, and breaketh or else fall-

feth into confusion through disorder, working little against the enemy, may rather giuing him means of a certaine victory. The shippe is like the Army, the Generall like the Master, the words of Direction like the Rudder, guiding all and euery motion of the Army: For the Army being a body of many heads, whereof euery one hath a seuerall sense, hangeth together not by the naturall coherence and knitting of one member to another, but by artificiall ioyning of man to man, file to file, body to body, whereby it is gathered together into one Masse, and figured into many members and ioynts, and ruled not by the reason and iudgement of it selfe, but by the reason and vnderstanding of the Generall. So that no man is to demand why this or that is commanded, but is to execute it alone for *this Cause, because it is commanded*: The Generall then being to Command, and direct the actions of the whole Army, ought to finde out meanes to speake and discourse with them all at once, in such a language, as it were, that all may vnderstand at once. For the occurrence of warre being oftentimes sudden, and once seized by, irrecoverable, require sudden meanes of speedy direction, that nothing fall out forvlooked for, but the Army may haue notice how to prevent and auoid, or else to turne it to their most aduantage; the rather because in warre, safety and life come in question, in losse of which, no pardon of negligence can be admitted. And seeing there are two principall fences of aduertisement, the *ear* the one, the other the *eye*; the *ear* to heare all manner of sounds, the *eye* to discerne all manner of colours and shapcs, it hath been the witty inuentions fo ancient Generals, to informe their Armies by the one, and by the other: by the *eye* when there was no use of the *ear*; by the *ear* when the *eye* could not be informed: The true obseruation and use of these signes auail much in warre. <sup>a</sup> *Vegetius* saith, *that nothing proficeth more to victory, then to obey the aduision of signes*. Former experience hath taught, that the neglect or error of signes, hath brought in great inconueniences, and quite ouerthrowne the enterprises in hand. <sup>b</sup> *Polybius* remembreth it in *Aratus* the elder, a Generall of the *Acheans*, *Cratus*, saith hee, the Generall of the *Acheans*, seeking to get the *Cynaethian City* by a plot, agreed with those of his party within the Citie, vpon a certain time to come by night to the riuer that runneth by *Cynethe*, there refreshing and staying his Army awhile, and that those within taking their time, should send about midday out of the gate secretly one of their companions, to stand in a cloake by a hill appointed, which was not farre from the Citie, to giue aduertisement to *Aratus* to march on, and that the rest about that time should lay hands vpon the *Polemarches*, (that used to guard the gates) while they repozed themselves and slept: And that this done, the *Acheans* should with all speed hasten to the gates, out of their ambush. These things concluded, and the time approaching, *Aratus* came accordingly, and hiding himselfe by the riuer, awaited the signall: About the fifth houre, one of the Citie an owner of sheepe, that bore extraordinary fine wooll, & were vsually feeding about the Citie, came out of the City gate in a cloake, desirous to speake with the shepheard about some private businesse of his owne, and standing vpon the same hill, looked round about for the shepheard. *Aratus* and his folke imagining this to be the expected signall, ran in all hast toward the Citie; but because nothing was ready within, the gates were quickly shut, and not onely *Aratus* missed of his purpose, but the Citizens also that conspired with him, fell into great misfortunes, being taken with the manner, and presently brought forth and put to death. This may be an example of error and misprision of the signes: Of the neglect, and likewise of the like error and misprision, there is a notable example

<sup>a</sup> *Veg.* l. 3. c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> *Polyb.* l. 9. § 55. B.

example in *Cæsar*s Commentaries in the siege of *Alexia*, Where *Cæsar* hauing <sup>a</sup> *Cæsar* de bell. Gall. l. 1. 156. won the Enemies campe, lying vpon a hill neere the Towne, sounded a retreat to his army that was in fight: the Ensignes of the tenth legion made a stand, but the Souldiers of the other legions not hearing the sound of the trumpet, by reason of a valley, beyond which they were, were yet held backe by the Tribunes and Legats, as *Cæsar* had giuen direction. Notwithstanding, being puffed up with the hope of a speedy victory, and with the sight of the Enemy, and their happy battailes of former times, thinking nothing so hard that it might not be atchieued by their valour, they made no end of their chase, till they came neere to the Wall, and Gates of the Towne; and some of them entering at a gate, othersome climbing up the wall, imagined they had gotten possession of the town. In the meane time the Enemies forces, who were busy in forrifying without on the other side of the town, being acquainted herewith by messages, sent their horse before, and followed after themselves, and in great numbers charged the Romans: The fight was hard, the enemy trusting to the aduantage of the place and to their number, the Romans to their valour, when on the sudden were scene on the open side of the Romans the *Heduan* Horse who serued in *Cæsar*s Armie, and were by him sent on the right hand to get up the hill another way: they by likewise of their armour put *Cæsar*s Souldiers in a great feare. And although it might easily be discerned, that their left shoulder was unarmed, which was the signe of such as were friends, yet the Romans conceiued them to be enemies, and to use that deuice only to over-reach and entrap them. Being oppressed on all hands, and 46<sup>b</sup> Centurions slaine, they were beaten from their ground with the losse of few lesse then 700 men. *Cæsar*s Souldiers here offended in both kindes in the neglect of their Generals Command, which he gaue by signe, and in mistaking the signe, which was vsuall for the *Heduan*s to be knowne by. *Cæsar*s iudgement of these two faults appeareth in his speech, which he made to his Army presently vpon the losse, in which he reprehended their rashnesse, in that they would needs take vpon them to iudge how farre they were to proceede, and neither be held in with the signe of retreat that was giuen, nor yet be commanded by the Tribunes and Legats. He shewed of what force the disadvantage of ground was, and what his opinion was before this time at *Auaricum*, where surprising the Enemy without a Generall and Horse, he let an assured victory slip out of his hand, because he would not hazard, no not a small losse in fight vpon inequality of ground. As much as he admired their braue mindes and resolution, whom neither the fortifications of the Enemies Campe, nor the height of the Mountaine, nor the wall of the Towne could hold backe; so much hee reprehended their presumption and arrogancy, in that about the victory and issue of things, they preferred their owne conceits before the opinion of their Generall: For his part he required swiftness modesty and continencie in a Souldier, as valour and magnanimity.

So *Cæsar* insinuating that obedience and heedfulnessse were two principall vertues in a Souldier; by the one to be ready at all commands, by the other to execute with discretion what was commanded: by want of heedfulnessse they perceiued not the signe of retreat which was proposed vnto them, and mislooke the marke of the *Heduan*s, whom they esteemed for their foes; by want of obedience to their Officers, they incurred the danger and losse which they sustained: diligent care therefore is to be had of signes, by which the minde of the Generall in all directions is declared, and as it were set before the eyes of the whole Army.

The Inuention of the Signes of warre were many. The Ensigne was inuentioned by the *Egyptians*, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the 9 chap. of this

<sup>b</sup> Three were 40 Centurions in a Roman Legion.

\* *Plin natural.*  
*lib. 7. c. 17.*

Booke, where also the reason of the invention is giuen. \*The order of an Army, the giuing of the *signe*, the *watch*, the *watchword* was inuented by *Palamedes*, the *trumpet* by *Tirrheneus* the Sonne of *Hercules*.

o *Onofander c. 25.*  
 c *Onofander lib. 1. c. 25.*

To giue *signes* to an Army pertaineth, as I haue shewed, to him that is the Governour thereof, that is, to the Generall. The manner how *signes* were by him giuen, appeareth in *Onofander*, I will recite his words: *Let all signes* quoth he, (he meaning by voyce) and *by signes be deliuered to the Officers of the Army*; in as much as for a Generall to goe up and downe and proclaim the *signe* to all, is the part of an *vnwise* and *vnexperienced Man*, and *both time is lost in denouncing it*, and it is often a cause of *vnmutill*, *whilst euery man asketh what the signe is*. Besides, one addeth something to the Generals words, another diminisheth them through ignorance. <sup>d</sup> Leo hath almost the same wordes, at least the same sense, and as I take it, hee borroweth them from *Onofander*. <sup>e</sup> *Onofander* addeth, *It becometh him to giue the word to his highest Commanders, who are to deliuer it over to the next to themselves, and they to their next inferior Officers, till it come to the last; for so shall euery one speedily, decently, and quietly, know what is commanded*. And this was the manner of the *Grecians*, as may appeare by *Thucydides*, who describing the vsage of the *Lacedæmonians* in giuing the word and *signes*, of direction, hath thus, *And presently the Lacedæmonians ordered themselves in battaile*, Agis the King commanding, as their law is; for when the King leadeth, all things are vnder his command, and hee giueth direction to the *Polemarches*, they to the *Lochages*, who deliuer it to the *Pentecostes*, and they to the *Enomotarches*, from whom the *Souldiers* of the *Enomoties* haue it.

*Polemarches.*  
*Lochagi.*  
*Pentecostes.*  
*Enomotarches.*  
*Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 8.*  
*203. B.*

<sup>f</sup> *Polyb. l. 6. 475.*  
<sup>g</sup> *Lipinus ad Polyb.*  
*l. 5. dial. 9.*  
*Veget. l. 3. c. 5.*

This was then the manner of the *Grecians*. How the *Romans* did deliuer out their word you may finde in the sixth Booke of <sup>f</sup> *Polybius*. But because it pertaineth not to *Ælian*, who intreateth of the *Græcian* discipline alone, I remit the Reader to my marginnall quotation. The *signe* was then deliuered from the superior Officers to the inferior, and from them to the *Souldier*: the kindes of *signes* that were deliuered are reckoned vp in this Chapter, being in number two; for they were presented either to the *ear* or to the *eye*, to the *ear*, as all sounds, whether mans *voice* or *trumpets*, or other *instruments of warre*, which were presented for direction or motion of the Army. To the *eye*, as all *mute signes* (so they are called which haue no sound) which were set vp to the *view* of the *Souldier* for direction likewise: Both of these kindes were either *ordinary* or *extraordinary*: *ordinary*, which had daily vse in the Army, as the *Trumpet*, *Ensignes*, and such like, as serued for ordinary direction. *Extraordinary*, which were brought in as occasion was offered of new command: besides, some were deliuered *openly*, as the *vocall*, *femucall* and *mute signes*, which by proclamation, sound of instruments, or representation were set forth to the whole army at once; some *priuely*, as the *word*, and such like, which passed secretly from one to another, and were receiued priuately in the *ear*. This variety was inuented, that in case one kinde failed, or would not serue, another might, as I haue noted before out of *Suidas* vpon the ninth Chapter, and as *Ælian* teacheth in this Chapter.

<sup>h</sup> *Ætali.*  
<sup>i</sup> *Semiusc.*  
<sup>j</sup> *Ætali.*

The ends of *signes* are two, one to order and direct our *owne forces*, the other to distinguish them from the *Enemy*.

<sup>k</sup> *Ætali.*

Because I haue before spoken of the diuersity of *vocall* and *mute signes*, it shall not be amisse here to shew the vse of them both by examples.

And

And this is first to be noted, that the *Græcians* in gouerning their troopes, as much as they could, retained the vse of the *voice*. In publike directions they vsed the *voice of the Cryer*; I haue before noted it vpon the 9 Chapr. If the command required *secrecy*, the Generall gaue it to his chiefe Commanders *secretly* by word: Of this kinde was the *signe* deliuered to *discerne* enemy from his owne iouldiers in a battaile to be fought. <sup>a</sup> *Xenophon* writeth, that at such time as *Cyrus* the younger and *Artaxerxes* were to ioyne battaile, *Cyrus* sitting on horse-backe a prettie distance from the *Grecian* troopes, heard a murmuring noise running along through their whole battaile, and asking *Xenophon* (who was then present with him) what noise it might be, and what it meant, *Xenophon* told him, that the Word was now giuen the second time: Hee wondering who had revealed the Word to the Enemy, desired to know what the new word was; *Xenophon* answered, it was *Iupiter* the Saviour and victory; which *Cyrus* hearing, I accept it, saith he, and let it be so. The murmure here mentioned arose out of the deliuering of the *signe* of the battaile, which being deliuered to the inferior Officers by *Clearchus*, the chiefe Commander of the *Grecians*, and the Officers communicating it to the *Souldiers*, and the *Souldiers* one to another, went thorough the whole body of the *phalange* with a soft and still noise of them, that whisped it in the eares of their companions. *Xenophon* hath here set downe, that the word was *Iupiter* the saviour and victory; In <sup>b</sup> another place he hath, *Iupiter* the Saviour and *Hercules* the guide, for the *signe*. To know who was an enemy who a friend, the iouldiers meeting one another demanded the *signe*; if they deliuered the word giuen by the Generall, they held them for friends, if otherwise, for enemies: <sup>c</sup> *Polyen* telleth of <sup>d</sup> *Polyen*, <sup>e</sup> *Acus* an *Arcadian* Generall, who commanded his *Souldiers* to kill him, who sooner hee were that should aske the word: so that he made the *voice* of the enemy serue for the word to his owne *Souldiers*. This *signe* was changed in euery battaile, lest, if still the same *signes* were vsed, the Enemy might happily come to the knowledge of them, and so be taken for friend, vnder colour whereof much treason might be wrought: not much vnlike the *signe* giuen in a battell to be fought, is the *watch-word* by night, which was vually deliuered to the first Officers of the Army, and by them deriued to the rest, and so brought downe to the *Souldiers*, and was no lesse obserued in a *Citie*, then in the *Campe*; in both which the same forme of watching was held, saue that in a *Campe* there were *Sentines* per due, as we terme them at this day (the *Grecians* called them *παραστάτες*) who stood and watched without the trench of the *campe*; whereas the *Cities* for the most part had *Sentinels* watching onely vpon the walls or market-place, or other pieces of strength giuing to, and receiuing the word from the rounders. And as the *signes of battaile* varied vpon occasion, as the last example specified, so the *watch-words* were often changed, for feare they might come to the notice of the enemy; for the Enemy hauing the *Watch-word*, might nourish spies in our *Campe* or *Citie*, and haue certaine intelligence of all, that passeth there, as being taken for friends, because they carried the *markes* and *tokens of friends*; and they were changed not onely at the *reliefe* of the watch, which time is the vusual moment of *varying* the word, but oftentimes after the same night, for feare that a *Sentinell* might be snatched vp without the *Campe* by an enemy, or else because of treason within, in revealing the word to the enemy; oftentimes also they gaue a <sup>d</sup> double word, one to the sentinell, another to the round; and <sup>e</sup> *Polyb. l. 9. 556.*

some.



<sup>a</sup> *Ælian* c. 25.  
For the double  
signe and by-  
signe, v. *Ælian*.  
c. 24, 25. & *Ca-*  
*sar* in *notitia*  
*Æne* c. 4. & c.  
24, 25.

sometimes added a <sup>a</sup> *mute signe*, to the word, which kind they called *megavro*. *trua*, as it were a by-signe: and these are all the *secret signes by word*, which I finde in the Grecian practise. For the other words, as the exhortation of the General to the Army, and the words of training deliuered by the Cryer to the Souldiers, ( for every Company had a Cryer, because his voice was stronger and lower then the Capitaines,) they neither are secret, and seeme rather to be in the nature of Commands, then Signes. The single word of *battell* and *watch*, I find to bee called by no other name then *νύκτα*, if it were a double word *νύκτα νύκτα*, if a *mute signe* were ioyned to the word *megavro*.

The voice then of a man was vsed for a signe either when secrecie was required, or else where the Crier might bee heard in discharging his duty by proclamation, because it was weake and could not extend to the hearing of this whole Army, and many things required for publike and quicke direction, Instruments of sound were brought in. *Vegetius* saith very well, Because a multitude cannot be governed by voice alone in the tumults of fight, and because many things are to bee commanded and done, according to necessity, the ancient vse of all Nations found out how the whole Army by signes might with speed haue notice of, and follow that, which the General iudged profitable for it. To helpe therefore the weaknesse of the voice, Instruments of sound were brought in, which were of three sorts amongst the Grecians, the Trumpet, the Flute, and the Harpe. The

<sup>a</sup> Flute was vsed by the Lacedemonians, the Harpe by the Cretans, (euē to the ioyning of battaile) all other Grecians vsed the Trumpet. <sup>b</sup> And yet in the battaile during the time of fight, and in retreats, the Lacedemonians also vsed the trumpet. I haue noted it before vpon the 9 Chapter, where I haue also touched in what occasions and actions the trumpet was the signe. Now will giue some Presidents of the particulars these remembred.

And first the Trumpet gaue the signe of remouing the Campe: which appeareth by this precept of <sup>a</sup> *Leo*, When you will remoue your Campe without tumult, you are to giuen commandement ouer night. And againe, the same day in which you remoue, you are in the morning by day light to signifie the remoue by sound of the Trumpet three times, and then remoue, and the Leaders and the armed are to goe out first, then the wagons, if any bee, and then other things which are carried for the vse of the Army. Thus *Leo*, for the remoue by day. By night, the Army of the Grecians that fought with *Artaxerxes* (as <sup>a</sup> *Xenophon* reporteth) remoued after this sort. After the death of *Cyrus*, the Grecians that followed *Cyrus*, being in distresse, and pinched with want of all things, not knowing what course to take, and hauing a message from *Ariens* (a chiefe Persian Commander vnder *Cyrus* while he liued) to come and ioyn with him, that they might returne together to *Ionia*, from whence they first began to march, *Clearchus* the Principall Commander of Grecians being determined to doe as *Ariens* was counselled, and yet loth the enemy should know of his departure, gaue these directions to the Army, This must be your course, saith hee, we must goe euery man to his lodging, and sup with such prouision as he hath, and when the Horne giueth the signe to rest, trusse up your baggage, at the second signe lay it vpon the carriage beasts, at the third euery man follow his Leader. The Capitaines and Coronels hearing this, did as they were commanded. This practise of *Clearchus* differeth not much from *Leos* precept; for hee vsed three sounds of the trumpet, and so *Leo* doth command: *Clearchus* yet further sheweth what was bee done at euery signe, which *Leo* pretermitteth, perhaps as a thing commonly knowne: Be-

lides,

lides, *Clearchus* vsed all these signes for another end, then for which they were first instituted. The Grecians at euening discharged their workmen from their worke by sound of trumpet, and that was called the signe of rest: then they diuided the night into foure parts, which were called foure watches, because their *Sentinels* were foure times releueed in a night, and at euery reliefe the Trumpet sounded. Now the sounds of the Trumpet by night, *Clearchus* conuerted into signes for marching according to *Leos* prescription, and remoued his Campe, the enemy not perceiving it. Hence it appeareth then that the Campe was remoued by the sound of the Trumpet: And yet I finde that *Alexander* brought in an alteration about this signe of remouing: For <sup>a</sup> *Curtius* remembreth that *Alexander* at the first vsed it, but perceiving afterwards, that this signe could hardly be discerned by the whole Army, by reason of the noise and stirring of the multitude, thought it better to sticke downe a Pole, and vpon the top of it to hang a coloured cloth, to giue his Army notice, that hee meant to remoue, and euē after held himselfe to that signe.

The Trumpet likewise was the <sup>b</sup> signe of fight: And when all the Trumpets of the Army sounded, it was called <sup>c</sup> *νύκτα*, (in Latine *Clasium*;) and the whole Army hearing this signe, began to aduence, and sung the <sup>d</sup> *Pæan*, and gaue a shout, and presently ioyned with the enemy. The Greeke histories euēry where giue testimony hereof.

But wee are to note that this sounding of trumpets all together, was before the Army came to ioyn with the enemy, and that the end of it was to strike a terror into the enemy, and to encourage and stirre vp the mindes of their owne people to fight; for in the time of fight, they vsed another manner according to this precept of <sup>e</sup> *Leo*, I would not aduise you to sound with many Trumpets, during the time of conflict, it being a thing both hurtfull, and bringing with it tumult and confusion: for thereby no Commander can bee heard. But if the place bee found plaine and euē, the Trumpet of the middle battell will bee sufficient for all the other battels: if it be vneuen, or the winde, as it often happeneth, boisterous, or the noise of waters hinder the cleernesse of the sound, it will not bee inconvenient for a Trumpet to speake in euery battell, so that three may be sounded in the whole Army. For the more that stinnesse is obserued, the lesse shall the younger sort of Souldiers be disturbed, or the beasts affrighted, and more terrible shall the battell seeme to the enemy, and directions bee better heard and put in execution.

The Trumpets were therefore the signes of fight; first all sounding together when the Army went to charge, and afterward one or three at the most during the time of fight.

And as the signe of fight was giuen by the Trumpet, so was the signe of retreat.

This also is manifest by the stratagem of *Pammenes*. <sup>a</sup> *Polyen* relateth that hee & *Polytus* in *Pæon* deceived his enemies by vsing a contrary course in sounding the Trumpet, then the common manner was, commanding his Souldiers when hee sounded the retreat, they should goe to charge; when hee sounded a charge, they should retreat: in doing whereof, he greatly amoyed his enemies. The example of <sup>b</sup> *Agésilas* cited by mee in my notes vpon the 9 Chapter sheweth, that the trumpet was vsed for retreats: and the History of *Callicratidas* reported by *Diodor*. Scit. in his 15 Booke, *Suidas* nameth this kinde of sound giuen by the trumpet, *ἀνακλήσις*, as it were a calling backe, or a command to retire.

The

Leo 7.5.31.

Seminellia.

Mute signes.

Onofand. 2.6.  
Ælian 6.24.

Art. 1. 6. D.

Ælian 6.24. 17.

The Trumpet finally was used as a *signe* for the Army to stand, or to go forward as the business required. Albeit I must confesse, there were other visuall signes besides the trumpet in this case: *Leo* saith, *In exercise of Horse*, when you are to moue the Body, you are to give *signe* either with the voice alone, or with the Trumpet, or else with the bowing downe of a Banneroll, and so to moue them. And if you would haue them to make alie, you are to doe it either with the voice, saying stand, or with the Trumpet, or with the noise of a Target beaten upon with a sword. The like he speaketh of the exercise of foot in the same Chap. and after in the 9 Ch. he saith, you shall command the Souldiers to stand, by knowing exactly the sound of the Trumpet. & againe to moue by the sound of the trumpet. So that although other signes were given for marching & retreat, yet the most common *signe* was by the Trumpet. Now we are to vnderstand, that all signes giuen by sound to the eare (except by the voyce) are called *signa seu iuocata*, because albeit their sound be lower and stronger for the most part, then the voyce is, yet they are not articulated, as is the sound of the voyce. Hitherto of signes that were giuen to the eare by the sound. Now are we to speake briefly of mute signes, or those that were set vp, as it were, a marke for the eye.

Mute signes were of two kinde: for either they were *simple*, and used by themselves, as an object of the eye alone, or else they were *mixed*, and ioyned to signes of sound, and so communicated both to the eye and to the eare. Of the second sort were those wherof I haue spoken a little before, and they were called *metasignificans*, namely when a *mute signe* is added to a *voicall*: as when to the Word in the night is ioyned some speciall gesture of the body, as holding downe or nodding of the head, lifting vp the hand, putting off the hat, heaving vp the skirt of the garment, &c. concerning which see *Onofander* and *Ælian*. Of the first kinde were *signes* presented to the eye alone, which extended very largely, and serued where neither voyce nor trumpet could be heard by reason of the remoteness of the place; these were called *signa*, *signes* properly, and *muta* likewise, because it was agreed by the parties, who gaue and tooke them, that they should haue such and such signification. The words be different, but the meaning and effect is all one; for as no *signe* can be, but there must be a giuer and a taker of the *signe*, so in that respect the signes called *muta* by reason of the communication betwixt the giuer and taker of the *signe*, may aptly also be termed *muta*. And albeit I noted before that the *signe* of the battaile and the *marshword* was called by no other name but *muta*, yet it *muta* taken often for a *mute signe* also: Many occasions were of giuing these signes, and they were sometimes shewen by day sometimes by night, and in the day time they were sometime proposed in the *battaile*, sometime in other places, where they might be perceived. *Ælian* historieth of Alexander the Great, that at his being in the Country of the Taurians, his enemies Clytus and Glaucias, had with many horse, darters, and slingers, and not a few armed men, taken the Mountaines and high places, by which he was to passe in returning. The place was fiveth and wooddy, shut up on the one side with a river, on the other side with an exceeding high mountaine, the sides wherof were very steepe, so that the Armie could not march with more then foure armed in front. Alexander marshalled his troopes to 120 in depth, and ordering 200 horse on each wing, he commanded silence, and heede to be taken to his directions: And first he willed the armed to aduance their pikes, then upon a *signe* giuen to let them fall, and charge, then to turne them close knit to the right hand, then

18

to the left, and sometime he moued the battell quickly forward, and sometime he moued it to the one wing, sometime to the other. And so fashioning it into diuers shapes in short time, and at last casting it into a wedge, as it were, he led it against the Enemy; who stood wondering at the speedinesse and good order of the diuers motions; and now perceiving the Armie to be led against them, abode not the charge, but left the hill, which he held, and fled. Here are mentioned seuen feuerall motions of the Phalange, which wee haue in practise at this day: 1. *Advancing of Pikes*, 2. *charging of them*, 3. *first to the right hand*, 4. *then to the left hand*, 5. *mouing of the battell forward*, 6. *mouing it to the right wing*, and then 7. *to the left*. And all these motions were directed by a *signe*; what this *signe* was, may be doubted, because it is not exprest whether it was by voice, trumpet, or a *mute signe*. For my part I would not take it to haue beene by voice; for how could the voice be heard in so great an Army as Alexander had (which according to *Diodorus Siculus* consisted of 30000 foot and 3000 horse) and was stretched out in depth, and had but foure armed in front: nor yet would I imagine it to haue beene giuen by trumpet; because, though perhaps the trumpet might be heard of all the Army, by reason of the Echo rebounding from the Mountaine and river, yet could it not fitly and cleerely distinguish the sound that should direct these seuen feuerall motions: I haue before declared in what case the trumpet was employed. Let me with leaue therefore thinke, that it was a *mute signe* presented to the eye; as for the purpose a Coat, or other garment fastned to the end of a long staffe, the colour wherof being eminent, and the staffe being lifted aloft might be perceived by the whole Army. The *signe* then advanced to the full height, might signifie *advancing of Pikes*, which was the first motion. Being abased and held leuell before the front, charging to the front, which was the second motion; held our leuell to the right flank charging to the right hand, to the left flank, charging to the left hand; which were the third and fourth motions of Alexander: *mouing forward in front*, it might be a *signe* for the battell to follow, which was the fift. *Mouing to the right hand*, for the battell to march to the right, which was the sixt: to the left, for the battell to move to the left, which was the seuenth; which motion might more easily be performed, in case the ensignes of the particular Companies tooke their direction from the *maine signe*, and so framed themselves to the same motions, and the Souldiers to the motions of their Ensignes: This I say is my coniecture, wherein notwithstanding I prejudice no mans opinion, but leave euery man to his owne conceit and iudgement. *Æ Xenophon* relateth a notable example of *Iphicrates* the Athenian, who being chosen Admirall by the Citie, as soone as he began to take the Sea with his *Naue*, both at once suted, and also prepared all things necessary for Sea-fight: for he left at home the greater Sutes, as one that failed forth to fight, and seldome used the greater masts, were the wind neuer so faire, but hasting forward with the oare, he both made the bodies of his men strong and healthy, and the Naue gained a speedier way: and oftentimes where he meant to dine, there would he draw his whole *Naue* from the shore in a wing, and turning them about, and addressing their prowes to the land, giue a *signe* for the ships to hasten with all celerity to the land, euery one as it could. It was a great reward and victory for those that came first to land, to water, and take all thing they needed, as also to dine, and a great punishment to the sluggards to want those commodities, and besides to put to sea again, when the *signe* was giuen: for the first did all things at ease, and as they list, the last were straitened with haste, and

Diodorus Sic. lib. 17. c. 66.

Æ Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. 2. c. 18. 7. G.

A single file.

D

milit

# The Tactics of Ælian, or

must doe as they could. When, by chance he dined in the enemies Countie, he set out Sentinels some upon land as behooved, other upon ships rearing up the Masts, that from thence they might take a view of all things: for these being placed in a higher station, might easily discern and see further, then the other standing upon even ground: where sooner he slipped and slept, he suffered no fires to be made in the Campe by night, but held light before the Campe, that no man might have access to it without discovery. Oftentimes in faire weather, he no sooner slipped, but put to sea againe, and in case there were a fresh gale, sailed forward, and the sailers in the meane time gaue themselves to rest: when hast was needfull he releued the sailers by turns, and in the day time upon<sup>a</sup> signes led sometimes in a wing some times in a phalange.

<sup>a</sup> *Amo. quæstor.*  
*Xenoph. hist. grec.*  
*l. 6. § 87. C.*

<sup>b</sup> *Leo c. 19. §. 40.*

<sup>c</sup> *Leo c. 19. §. 42.*  
<sup>d</sup> *enquæstor.*

<sup>e</sup> *Leo c. 19. §. 43.*

<sup>f</sup> *Diod. Sic. l. 13.*  
*372.*

<sup>g</sup> *Tobyl. l. 1. §. 10.*

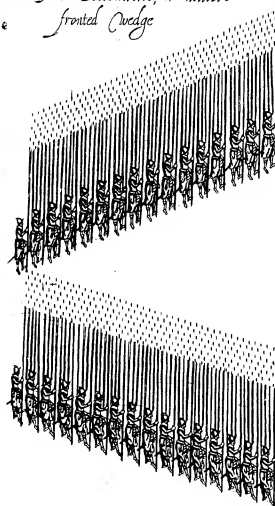
<sup>h</sup> *78. eun. §. 10.*

That these were mute signes from the Admirall ship (besides that the word or signification importeth so much for the most part) no man I thinke acquainted with Sea-service will make question, considering that both voice and<sup>b</sup> trumpet easily giue place to the whistling of windes and roaring of tempests, and raging of waues of the Sea. To say nothing of the distance of one ship from another, nor of the tumult and cry of Mariners, or sound of oares (for in those times sea-fights were altogether in Gallies driuen with oares) which make them vncapable of direction by any other kinde of signe. And for these mute signes to be giuen by sea, I meane, of what kinde they should be, and to what end, and in what manner deliuered, I thinke good to cite the words of the Emperour *Leo*, which sound thus: *Let there be, saith he, in your Galley<sup>d</sup> a signe standing in some eminent place, either an ensigne, or some bannerall, or some such like, wherewith after you haue signified what is to be done, your direction may straight be understood and executed, whether you would haue your Xguie to goe to charge, or retire from the Enemy, or to counter-march to encompass the enemy, or to hasten to relieue some of your owne party distressed, or slacke or quicken their aduancing, or lay or avoid an ambush, or such like: that they seeing the signes from your ship, may receive direction what is to be done.* And a little after he declareth the manner and v. sage of these signes, saying: *Let the signe<sup>e</sup> be shewne either standing upright, or inclining to the right or left hand, or lifted aloft, or let fall low, or be taken clameaway, or transported to another place, or changing by making the head of it appear in diuers formes by adding other shapes of colours vnto it, as was vsed by the Indians.* For their manner was in the day of battaile to reare up a red coloured signe, which they called<sup>f</sup> *surian*, and it was nothing else but a peece of red cloath exalted upon a long staffe, and such like; but it may be more safely deliuered by your owne hand. I thought good to cite these passages of *Leo*, the rather to giue light to the place last before recited out of *Zenophon*: For out of this precept of *Leo* the practise of *Iphicrates* his motions may more peripicuouly appeare.

Now that these red coloured signes, and signes of other colours also were vsed in fights on land, <sup>g</sup> *Polybius* sheweth in the bartell betweene *Antigonus* the Macedonian King, and *Cleomenes* the King of Sparta. *Antigonus* Army consisted of diuers nations, Macedonians, Agrians, Galatians, Achæans, Bæotians, Epirotes, Acarnans, Illyrians. *Cleomenes* his enemy had taken and fortified all the streight passages which led into the territory of the Lacedemonians (for thither did *Antigonus* bend his inuasion) and so disposed his forces that *Antigonus* could not passe without fight: Hereupon *Antigonus* resolved to fight; and because his fight was to be ordered in and against diuers places, and at diuers times, as his aduantage fell out, he gaue diuers signes to his different people, when to giue on: <sup>h</sup> The signe to the Illyrians was, then to charge vp

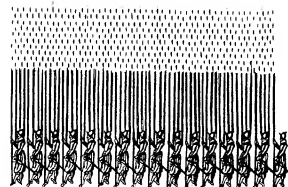
Cap. 30.

The Colombol, or hollow.  
fronted Quadage



The front

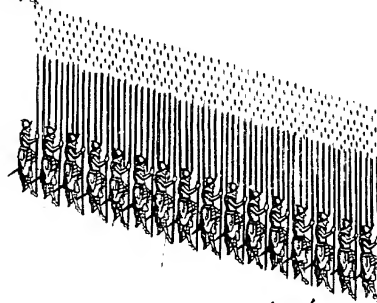
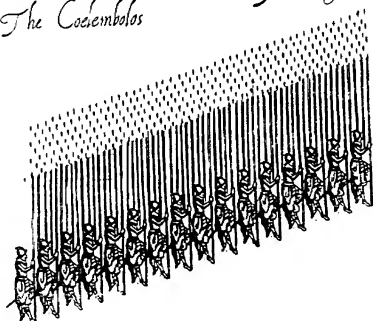
The right Induction



Cap. 36.

The Coscembolos

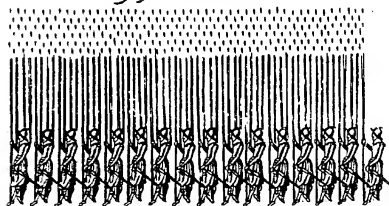
The left wing



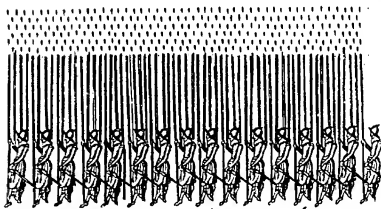
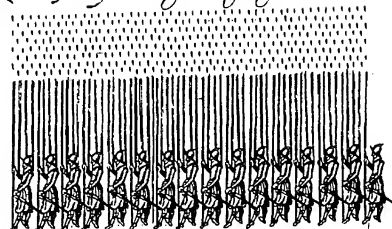
The right wing

The front

The Phalange set against y<sup>e</sup> left wing  
of y<sup>e</sup> Coscembolos

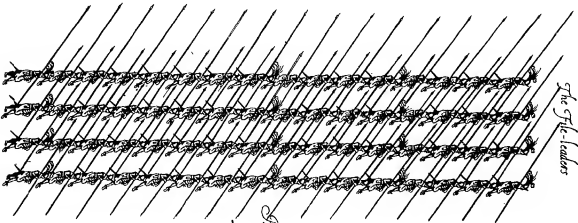


The forbearing Phlange

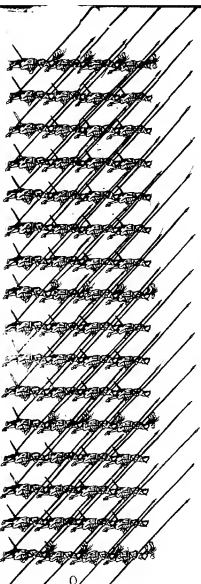


The Phalange set against y<sup>e</sup> right wing  
of y<sup>e</sup> Coscembolos

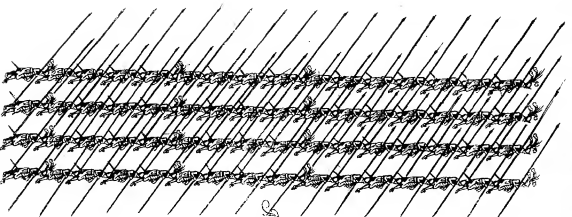
The style-leaders



A Devotion to the  
left hand



A right and left  
the front



A Devotion to the  
right hand


The style-leaders

the hill, when they saw a white linnen cloath held vp from the place about *Olympus*, to the *Megalopolitans* and horse, when they saw the King lift vp a purple garment. <sup>a</sup> *Cesar* commanded his Souldiers not to fight without his direction, saying, he would giue a signe with an ensigne, when he would haue them begin. And al-<sup>b</sup> *Cesar l. i. de bel. ciuil 323.* beit the colour of red was vsed for the most part in Signals, yet was not the party that gaue the signe precisely tyed to any colour: it was enough if, the signe might giue notice of the Generals intent to them, whom it concerned: the first <sup>b</sup> *Ptolomie* gaue a signe to his Nauie to begin the fight by hoisting vp a guilt Target in his Admirall galley, <sup>c</sup> other with holding vp or shaking their garment, or their hand, or with wearing some vnsuall marke vpon a horse, vpon Armes, vpon vestures, or such like. This is to be noted for a generall rule, that when you finde in history a signe was giuen at a great distance, and it is not expressed what signe it was, you must vnderstand that it was a mute signe presented to the eye, because the sense of hearing is feeble, and not able to discerne farre off. Hitherto of mute signes giuen by day. In the night, when all was couered with darknesse, and the vse of sight taken away, the vsuall manner was to giue a signe by flame of fire, which manner of signall might be descried in the night, being the darknesse neuer so great: <sup>d</sup> *Scipio Africanus* the younger, hauing enclosed *Numintia* round about with a trench and rampier, commanded that if the Enemy fell out vpon any part of his fortification, a red peece of cloath should be held out by day vpon a long staffe, a flaming fire by night, that himselfe or his chiefe officers might come to succour. The like thall you finde in *Cesars Commentaries* and *Q. Curtius* and in other Historiographers both <sup>e</sup> *Appian in Hist. panica 306. E.* Greeke and Latine.

These were the signes vsed in the battell, and in the Campe: without the Campe were set *Sentinels* both horse and foot to fore-warne and giue aduertisement to the Generall of the Enemies approach. To these oftentimes the Generall gaue a signe amongst themselues, and they by signes signified what was done abroad: For the manner of placing these *Sentinels*, see *Aeneas*. The signes themselues were such as might be discerned by the eye, and of that kinde and forme whereof I haue made mention already.

Of Marching, and of the diuers kind of battels fit for a march. And first of the right induction, of the *Calembolos*, and of the *Triphalange* to be opposed against it.

CHAP. XXXVI.

(1)  eing now to speake of marching, I will first giue to vnderstand that some kinde of march is a (2) right-induction, other some a (3) deduction on the right or left hand, and that in a single, or double, or treble, or quadruple sided battell: In a single, when one Enemy is feared, in a double, when two in a treble, when three in a quadruple, when the Enemy purposeth to giue on all sides. Therefore the March is vndertaken sometimes in a single, sometimes in a double, or in a threefold, or in a fourefold phalange.

(4) A right induction is, when one body of the same kinde followeth another; as if a Xenagy lead, the rest follow Xenagy-wise; or if a Tetrarchy lead,

lead, the rest follow according to that forme. It is so called when the march stretcheth it selfe forth into a *wing*, hauing the *depth* many times exceeding the *length*.

Against it is opposed the *Cælembolos* or *hollow-wedge*, which is framed when the *Antistomus diphlange* disioyneth the leading wings, closing the reare in forme of the letter V, as the figure after doth teach, in which the front is disseuered, and the reare ioyned and knit together: for the right induction pointing at the *midst* of the Enemies battell, the *Cælembolos* quickly opening before, serueth both to *frustrate* the charge of the front of the *induction*, and to *classe in* and circumvent the *flanks* thereof.

Furthermore a *Triphlange* is to be set against the *Cælembolos*, one *Phlange* fighting against one wing of the *Cælembolos*, the second against the other, and the middle or third *phlange* forbearing, and expecting a time fit to charge.

## NOTES.

**T**He Marching of an Army is a principall head of warre. *Ælian* toucheth it no further, then to shew the order and shapes of battells fit for a March: and were it possible, that all grounds were alike open, and without impediments, as namely without trees, ditches, hedge-rows ragged waies, valleys, hills, brooks, and such like, the best forme of your marching should be to proceede with your whole phlange in a *square battell*, which forme is ready for all attempts of the enemy, and is the beginning and foule of other fortres, and with no great difficulty wil take & be changed into any shape you desire. *Leo* sheweth the inconueniency of the *Herse* or induction in marching thorow *Champaigne* and large plaines, first in that the Enemy with a *broad-fronted* battaile may *enfold* and encompass the front, and so easily rout it then, because if the Enemy *charge the flanke* it will quickly be broken, as being without depth: further, if he fall vpon the *reare*, it is in the like danger of encompassing, as was the front: lastly neither can the front giue succour and assistance to the *reare*, in case it be ouerpressed by the Enemy, nor yet the *reare* to the front, they being so farre distance one from another. And he concludeth that the forme of a *square* or *broad-fronted* battaile, is fit for a march in all occasions, being easily to be ordered, and without danger. But seeing it is not possible, as *Polibius* saith, or else very hard to finde out places of 20 furlong, or more, where in none of the impediments aboue recited shall be, the formes of marching must necessarily be accommodated to the ground and wayes through which your forces are to passe: what formes they be, the following Chapters will shew.

2. Some kinde of March is a right Induction. The expectation of the enemies approach is oftentimes a cause of varying the kindes of march: if he alwayes appeared in front, there should need no other proceeding then with the file-leaders in front: because he seeks his aduantage, and in the March sometimes attacheth the reare, sometimes one flanke, sometimes another, the Grecians to provide for all attempts, so ordered their March, that wherefoeuer they feared the enemies giuing on, there they opposed the file-leaders, as the best men of the Armie, and most able to receive the assault: yet for the most part the March was vnderaken in a right induction,

that is, without inuerting the ordinary kind of file-leading in front, which also is our manner of marching at this day. But yet sometimes in a

3. *Deduction* on the right or left hand. There is but one kind of right induction, viz. a march, that hath the file-leaders in the front. Of Deductions there are 2 kinds: one to the right, the other to the left hand. And because the file-leaders march on the right or left hand flanke, not in front; therefore the one is called a *right hand deduction*; the other a *left hand deduction*. So that not the body which continueth or beginneth the march, but the place of the file-leaders in the march, makes the difference betwixt Induction and Deduction. What the Use of Deduction is, we shall see in the next Chapter.

4. *A right Induction is.* *Ælian* describeth the right Induction by the marching of several bodies of one kind one after another: as if *Xenagys* lead, all the rest of the forces are to be separated into *Xenagies*, and singly one after another to follow the first leading *Xenagy*: so of other bodies lesser or greater. Notwithstanding in a right Induction, we must take this caution with all, that the file-leaders proceed in the front; for otherwise if they be placed in the flanke, it is now no induction, but a deduction, howsoever the several bodies of a kind follow one another.

This is that manner of marching which is called, marching in a *wing*, of which I haue spoken sufficiently in my notes vpon the 20 Chapter. There are other kind of *inductiue marches* set forth in the Greeke History, which are not altogether of the forme which *Ælian* describeth: for where *Ælian* would haue *Xenagies* to follow one another with the file-leaders in front, his meaning is, that the whole 16 files of the *Xenagie* should be laid together all the file-leaders being layed in an euen front. Now you haue examples where whole Companies march in one file; so that all the file-leaders haue not the front, but rest included in the inward parts of the file, and yet many of these files ioyned together make an induction. *Xenophon* reporteth, that when *Cyrus* the elder was mustering and exercising his Army in the field, there came vnto him a messenger from *Cyaxares* the King of the *Medes*, being *Cyrus* his vnkle, signifying, that an Ambassador was arrived from the *Indians*, in which regard, said hee, the King would haue you to come to him with all speed, and I bring you from *Cyaxares* one of his richest garments: For he desireth in regard the *Indians* as to see you, that your presence may be adorned with as faire and sumptuous apparell as may be.

*Cyrus* receiving this message, commanded the first 2 *Taxiarchs* to stand in front, hauing his Company ordered behind him in one file, and himselfe holding the right corner file of the battell, and willed him to deliuer that Command to the second *Taxiarch*, and so the word to passe to the rest: They quickly obeyed, and put the Command in execution, and so it came to passe in short space, that the front had in it 300, (for so many the *Taxiarchs* were) the depth of the battell 100. After they stood in this order, he commanded them to follow, as he led, and straightway he led them running: but because he perceived that the way was too freight to march with so many in front, he willed the first *Chiliarch* to follow in the same order in which it then was, and the second in the reare thereof, and so the rest: and he sent two Sergeants to the turnings of the way, now ordered to giue direction to such as were not fully instructed in the businesse. When they were come to *Cyaxares* gate, hee willed the first *Taxiarch* to order his Company 12 deepe, and the *Dodecarches* to stand in front all along the pallaces, and hee willed to signify so much to the next *Taxiarch*, and so the rest one to another through the whole Army. They did as they were commanded: and he went in to *Cyaxares*. Here haue you

a *Xenagy* and a *Synagys*, are all one: it consisteth of 16 files, 16 men to the file.

*Xmas. b. Cyrus. l. 2. 16.*

b A *Taxiarch* was a Captaine of 100 men. *to the right of Cyrus. l. 2. 11.*

c This was a body of 1000 men, and they were now ordered to in front, the depth 100. *The file was 24, and the Dodecarches commanded the hinder halfe of the file.*

first a Company drawne into file, and so standing; then 299 Companies fashioned into files, and laid flanke-wise to the first, and so marching as long as the ground would permit: The ground afterward being capable of no more then 10 in front, the Chiliarchy of the right hand was drawne forth to leade the march, which consisted of 10 Companies, the Body being 10 in front, and 100 in depth: The rest of all the Chiliarchies followed the Reare one of another in the same order: coming to a place where Alte was to be made, the first Taxiarch drew out his Company by 12, placing the first file leader in front with the first 12 of the file, and fleeuing vp the Dodecadarch of the same file to Front with the file leader, and the hindermost 12 of them that followed him to ranke with the former halfe file; the like was done by the 3 other files, so that each Taxis had 8 in Front, and 12 in depth, and there being 30000 men in that Army, the whole Army comprehended 300 Taxis, the halfe files of 12 a peece, amount to the number of 2400: so many men in number also making the Front of the Army. And for the leading of the first Chiliarchy in the straight way, and the rest following in the like forme, it was an induction, which notwithstanding directeth from Aelians induction. Aelians Chiliarchy in the induction requieth the file leaders in front, this dispersed them in the whole body, Aelians Chiliarchy would haue had but 16 in depth, this had 100. For marching in like manner with the Captains before, and the single files of a Company cait into one file after them, I finde another example in Xenophon. The elder Cyrus being to invade Assyria by night, directeth his Army thus: Let vs leave with the carriage beasts and waggons, such as are fittest for that seruice, and let Oribas be their Leader, because hee is both skillfull in the waies, and otherwise sufficient for any affaire of Command: And let vs set forward with the best and most able horse and foot, carrying with vs victuall for three daies: for the lighter, and with the lesse cumber wee shall appoint out selues, with so much the more pleasure the after passing daies shall we dine, suppe, and sleepe. Now let the march be ordered in this manner: First, you Chrylantas, lead the armed foot with all their Captains in Front, as long as the way is even and broad; and let every Company be ordered in depth, souldier after souldier file-wise; for the closser we put our selues together, the sooner and safer shall we end our march. The cause why I would haue the Armed goe before, is in regard they are the heauiest of the Army, and when the heauiest goe before, the light must needs follow a ease. But when the lightest leade, especially in the night, it is no miracle if the Army be secured and distracted, the light easily slipping away, and halting in the Vaunt. Next unto these, let Artabazus lead the Targetiers and Archers of the Persians, and Andramias the Median, the Median footemen next, then let Embas follow with the Armenian foot, and Artuchas after him with the Hircanians; and next Thambradas with the Sacan foot, then Damatas with the Cadusians; and let all these march with the Captains in front, and on the right flanke of their Pleisum the Targetiers (or Pelastae) the Archers on their left; for so shall they better second one another. After these let the whole baggage march, the Commanders whereof must be carefull to haue all things ready before they sleepe, and early in the morning to bee at the appointed place with their furniture, and decently to march forward. After the baggage let Madatas the Persian lead the Persian Horse with their Captaines in front, and let the Captaines order their Companies in a file, as the foot Captaines did: Next after these Rambaces the Median, in the same sort the Horse which bee commandeth: Then you Tygraues your horse: Then the

a Xenoph. Cirop.  
lib. 1. cap. 12.

b Souldier after souldier.

c 10 files.

d Pleisum is a  
hollow square  
battallie.

other Horse Captaines euery one the Horse with which they serue mee. And as the Cadusians came last to my seruice, let them close vp the reare of the Army: Thus Xenophon.

The passage is somewhat long, but I thought good to recite it, because it containeth the order of night marches vsuall of old time. First, the armed foote march euery Nation after other, as long as the ground would giue leaue, in a square battell framed of Company laid to Company, euery Company drawne out into a file, the Targetiers on the one flanke, the Archers on the other: then the carriage: last of all the Horse. The reason is added why the slowest haue the Vaunt, namely, lest in the night, when all things (saith the same Xenophon) are to bee vnderstood and done by direction to the eare, and not to the eye, the Horsemen or light armed (who are nimble & quick, the Horsemen by reason of the Horse that carry them, the light armed, because they are troubled with no weight of Armes) leading, they might happily with their speede out-goe, and leaue the heavy armed beehinde, who being burdened with the heauinesse of their Armes, can march but slowly.

But my principall end was to shew, that the file-leaders in an induction, are not alwaies placed in Front; I will adde one example out of Xenophon more to the same purpose; When the Grecians that followed Cyrus the younger into Persia, returned toward their Country, they came as far as the river Phisphus, they found there a bridge, and not farre off a great City called Opis, at which the base brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, leading from Sula and Ecbatana a mighty Army with him, to giue aid to the King, met the Grecians; and causing his own Army to make alie, heeooke vnto of the Grecians as they passed by. Clearchus led his Army 2 in Front, and in his march oftentimes made alie. As long as the Vaunt of the Army staid, so long the Reare must likewise stay. So that the Grecians were of opinion they had a great Army, and the Persian was abashed at the sight of such a multitude.

Whether this march were Aelian is right Induction, a man would doubt, because it is not expressed by Xenophon particularly how the bodies of the Phalange did march: only hee saith, that Clearchus led his Army 2 in Front, as the Latine translation: I interpret it 2 in Front. For two in depth it could not be, because Xenophon speaketh of a stand made oftentimes by the Vaunt which caused the Reare to stay. And had the Army bene but 2 in depth, it had been all Vaunt, the 10000 Grecians being ordered into two ranks and no more, each of them being 5000 men: besides that, the Persian wondered at the multitude which passed by him in flanke; which flank, if it had consisted of no more then two, his wonder would soon haue ended. But Clearchus vsed Art to make his number seeme greater, and being but 2 in Front, they must needs be 5000 in file; to which 5000 giuing 6 foot a peece for their open order, the ground wil contain 30000 foot in depth, which amount to six miles of ours. The vage of the Lacedemonians was to march sometimes with 2 in Front, if the way were straight. So did Dercyllidas in Asia the lesse, when entering into a City, his whole Army followed him peaceably 2 in Front. So Archidamus the sonne of Agelilaus, aduancing against the Arcadians by a cart way that led to Cromnum, ordered his Army 2 in front, as then his march fell out, when they approached one to another, Archidamus his army being in a wing by reason

a Xen. de exp. lib. 3. cap. 10.

b 10 files.

Five foot make a pace, 30000 foot are 6 miles, 10000 paces making a mile.



of the straightnesse of the way, the Archadians in a broad-fronted phalange, with targets close faced together, the Lacedæmonians could not endure the charge of the Archadians, and forthwith both Archidamus was wounded through the thigh, and they slaine that fought before him. Hee saith that Archidamus marched two in front wing-wise by reason of the straightnesse of the way. In that he saith wing-wise, he sheweth the army was drawne out in depth, which is proper to an induction; and when he maketh the way the cause, he giueth a reason, why it so marched. But to returne to that I first propounded, the inductions hitherto specified in the former examples seeme to differ from Ælians right induction, as neither hauing all the file-leaders in front, nor yet single bodies of the same kinde one to follow another, the companies being each drawne into one file, and then two, or three, or foure, or more of these files laid together, according to the largenesse of the way, and the rest of the army following in the manner afore-expressed.

a Onouand 4.16.

5. Against it is opposed the Cælembolos.] The Cælembolos is a wedge hollow in front, and to be opposed against the right induction, saith Ælian. I haue noted before that it hath bene the manner of all famous Generals to fit the embattailing of their armies to the forme which the enemy vseth at the time of ioyning: and therefore it much concerneth the Commander of an army to be skillfull in all formes, which are of true vse, and to know the advantage that one carrieth against another. The right induction is, and alwayes hath bene the ordinary forme to march in. To order your troopes in an aduantageous forme against it, the Cælembolos was inuented: It is called by the Greekes a hollow wedge, because it is not filled vp in the midst, but includeth a void space bias-wise in front betwixt the points of both wings, and ioyneth it selfe together in the reare. So that to one that shall view it behinde it seemes a plaine wedge, and yet in propriety of speech it cannot be called a Wedge; for a Wedge hath three sides and three points, and beareth the true forme of a triangle; and with the former point it chargeth the enemy, as hath bene showne in the horse-mans wedge. This hath but one point and two sides, neither doth it charge the enemy with the point, but receiuing the front of his battaile into the empty space, striketh vpon both the flanks thereof with the wings, it hath opened, and so seeketh to distresse it; the Cælembolos hauing this aduantage, that it fighteth with the best men, viz. the file-leaders ordered in the inside of the wings thereof, not against the file-leader of the right induction, but against the weaker sort, who are ordinarily placed in the flanks thereof. The Latine names are more fit and significant to expresse the forme. By some it is called a *paire of tongues*, by other some a *paire of sheeres*, both appellations serving to set forth the right forme of the Cælembolos: for the one and the other open their foremost parts to a pretty distance, and the hinder parts, which are pinned and fastened together, end in a narrow point, as doth the Cælembolos. And they were so farre from rearning it a wedge, that they held it the best forme to receiue and frustrate the charge of the true wedge, as may

b Forcip Veget.  
l. 3. c. 18. § 9.  
c. A. Gellius l. 10.  
c. 9. § 10. ex.

d Veget. l. 10. c. 18 be set ne in d Vegetius.

6. Which is framed when.] The fashioning of the Cælembolos springeth out the Diphallange Antistomus. What that Diphallange is, we shall see in the 40 chapter of this booke. Thus much I may before-hand signifie, that the

the file-leaders ought to be placed within the hollow flanks of the Cælembolos, as it were a lying to the infides; and the Diphallange Antistomus being once framed (which is to haue the file-leaders in the midst from the one end of the battaile to the other) there needeth no further labour, then to dispatch the front in the midst (leauing the file-leaders on both sides) and to fasten and ioyn together the reare, to the end that the front of the right induction may enter into the hollownesse, but yet be masked, as it were in a net, and neither able to passe through the reare of the Cælembolos, being close shut, nor yet to giue offence to those that fight in the front of the Cælembolos, hauing no man whom they may charge in the void space; nor yet daring to breake the forme of their battaile after ioyning. For it is a good obseruation of Vegetius, that in fight the manner of your embattailing is not to be changed, nor any number of soldiers to be transported to other places then they haue: For hercof tumult and confusion will straight arise, and the enemy will easily take aduantage of such as are not ready or fall out to be disordered. I haue said that the Latines and Grecians differ in the name of this battaile, howbeit they agree both about the forme, which may here appeare by Ælian, who resembelth it to the letter V, neither can there a better resemblance be made; for as the letter V consisteth of two lines which are open in the top, close in the bottome, so doth this forme of battaile of two sides, which in front are void, open, and disseuered, in the reare ioyned and closed fast together. If you will therefore frame this battaile, you must first make a square, the file-leaders being all in front; then must you wheele the wings of your battaile into the midst, and so your file-leaders shall be in the midst; lastly, you are to open the front of your battaile, leauing halfe the file-leaders in the inside of one flanke, and I also in the inside of the other, keeping the reare close knit together: and for the opening, it ought to be somewhat more then will receiue into the void space the front of the right induction, which being once let in, the inward two flanks of the wedge where the file-leaders are, ought to face to both hands, and to charge the outward flanks of the right induction, and so circumsunt them.

7. Furthermore, a Triphallange.] A Triphallange in this place of Ælian is, when a square body or phalange is from front to reare diuided into three parts. The figure shewes the manner. The Triphallange hath as much aduantage against the Cælembolos, as the Cælembolos had against the right induction. The Cælembolos compelled the right induction to fight with the worst men, and auoided the affront of the file-leaders, which were the best. The Triphallange hauing the file-leaders in front, opposeth two seuerall fronts: against the two wings of the Cælembolos, where there are no file-leaders (for they are alwayes disposed for the inside) and both auoideth the aduantage the Cælembolos sought, and maketh the Cælembolos fight with the worst men, in as much as one of the Phalanges chargeth the front of one wing of the Cælembolos, the file-leaders whereof are in flanke within the hollownesse, the other chargeth the other. Now it hath this aduantage besides, that it spareth reserves for all occasions, by off-holding the third Phallange. If the Cælembolos be beaten by the two opposing Phalanges, all is lost, and no hope left of winning the field, no other forces being to second it, where notwithstanding the Cælembolos hauing gotten the better, may be eurbed, and the victory arrested by this reserve, and by the remnant of the other two Phalanges broken.

For the

# The Tactics of Ælian, or

Words of direction in the right induction.

- { 1 The right-corner Xenagy-march out } So is it of all other bodies, if  
 { 2 The rest follow in Xenagies } they begin in the march.

Direction for the Cæmboles.


- { 1. Wheele the wings of your battaille into the } So shall the file-leader be  
 { middle of your body — } in the midst; but we  
 { 2. Open your front to the right and left hand, } must note that the two  
 { keeping your Reare close. } midlemost leaders must  
 { } be centors for the other  
 { } to wheele about.

For the Triphalange.

- { 1 The two wings face to the right and left hand, the middle remaining } That is, to be able to meet in a  
 { as it was. } right line the two fronts of  
 { 2 March out to the distance required: } the wings of the Cæmbo-  
 { } los.  
 { 3 Stand, } When they come to the place  
 { required, }  
 { 4 Face as you were. }  
 { 5 Advance and charge. }

Of Paragoge or deduction.

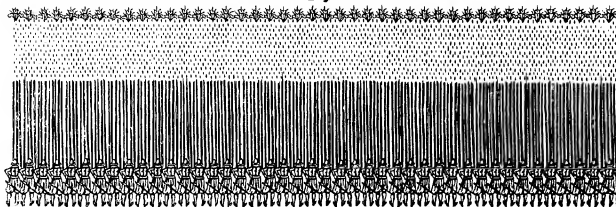
## CHAP. XXXVII.

- (1)  Paragoge or deduction is when the Phalange proceedeth in  
 (2) a wing, not by (3) file, but by ranke, having the *commanders* or *file-leaders* either on the right-hand, which is called  
 a *right hand deduction*, or on the left hand, which is a *left-*  
*hand deduction*. For the Phalange marcheth in a (4) *double*,  
*treble*, or *quadruple* front, according to the place or part it is suspected the  
 enemy will give on. And both the paragogies beginning the *fight* in flanke,  
 doe (5) make the *length double* to the *depth*. This forme of *fight* was devised  
 to teach a Souldier to receiue heedfully the charge of the enemy, not onely in  
 front but also in flanke.

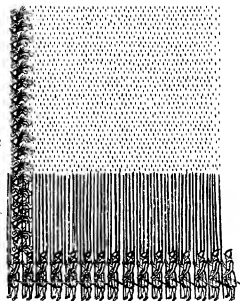
## NOTES.

- (1) *Deduction is when the Phalange.* Induction is spoken of, Deduction  
 followeth, which is the second kinde of march. For these are no  
 other

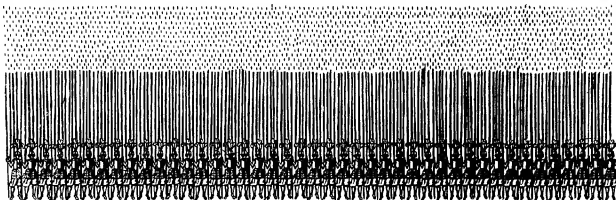
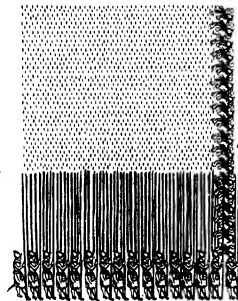
Cap. 37.  
 A four fronted Phalange against  
 all attempts of the Enemy  
 The Front of y<sup>e</sup> reare



The Front of y<sup>e</sup>  
 right flank



The Front of y<sup>e</sup>  
 left flank



The Front of the March

other kinds then Induction and Deduction : the one with the file-leaders in front, the other with the file-leaders in flanke. Neither doth the greatnesse or smallnesse of the body make any difference herein ; be the body neuer so great (as is the Phalange) or so small (as one Company) yet must the file-leaders either lead, or else be in flanke of the march. The reare in necessity may well be made good by the bringers vp. Deduction is the mother of many formes of battailes vsuall in marches : from it come the Cælembolos, whereof we spake before ; from it are the Antistomus, the Peristomus, the Homoistomus, the Heterostomus, of which hereafter.

2. *When the Phalange proceedeth in a wing.*] *Suidas* hath, that *Paragoge* or deduction is said to be when the phalange marcheth with the file-leaders on the right or left hand ; if on the left, it is said to be a left-hand deduction ; if on the right, a right-hand deduction. He maketh no mention of a wing as *Ælian* doth ; for it may so fall out, that the body may be such as hath the depth and breadth all one, as a Xenagy which hath sixteene in breadth, and sixteene in depth : some bodies also, as the Taxies and Tetrarchies haue the depth lesse then the breadth, the first holding sixteen in depth & no more then eight in breadth, the last foure in breadth and sixteene in depth, so that they march not in a wing. But because marches for the most part are vnderaken in a wing, it is the cause why *Ælian* saith that deductions proceed in a wing, the depth whereof manifoldly exceedeth the length, and they proceed.

3. *Not by file but by ranke.*] That is, the file-leaders being wheeled to the flanke, after they haue settled themselves to march, proceed on their iourney as they stand in the flanke, onely facing that way the march is intended, and returne not to lead in the front of the battaile, as they did at first. To lead by file is, when the file-leaders proceede, and haue their files following at their backe. To lead by ranke is, when that which was the flanke at first, becommeth the front, and beginneth the march, and the rest follow accordingly flanke-wise ; yet this is to be noted, that albeit the front of the battaile be changed in the deduction ; yet remaine the files, files as they were before, and are not altered into ranks. *Ælian* himselfe giueth testimony hereto, affirming that the Phalange proceedeth not by file, but by ranke, whereas if the files held not their first name after wheeling to the right or left flank, the march forward (the file-leaders being in the flanke) should be by file and not by ranke.

4. *For the phalange marcheth in a double, treble, or quadruple side.*] A double-sided battaile is that, which hath the file-leaders on both the flanks, the rest backe to backe within, when the enemy giueth on. For otherwise, when they march forward, all their faces are set one way, that is toward the place whether the march is intended. A treble-sided battaile is, when three sides of the battaile are to be charged, whether the front and both the flanks, or both the flanks and the reare, or the reare, one of the flanks, and the front, and the file-leaders are ordered on all the three sides. A quadruple battaile is, when the file-leaders are placed in front in the reare and in both the flanks. An example of the quadruple battaile will shew the vse and framing of the rest : for as the rest oppose one, two, or three sides against the enemy, so the quadruple fortifieth and strengthneth all the foure sides, by placing the file-leaders in them. Of ordering the file-leaders vpon one flanke, deduction may be an example ; vpon both flanks, the Antistomus phalange vpon front and

Xenoph. de exp.  
l. 3. 304. E.


and reare, the Amphistomus, on all foure sides, the Plesium, of all which occasion will be giuen to speake hereafter. Now I may signifie that the *Plesium* is a square hollow-battaile, the length whereof much exceedeth the depth, hauing the armed foot placed on all the foure sides, the light-armed throwne into the middest. The Græcians that followed *Cyrus* the yonger into Persia against King *Artaxerxes*, after their Coronels were taken prisoners and put to death by the subtilty and periury of *Tissaphernes*, being but 10000. and to retreat thorow open and plaine grounds, in which they were like to be charged by an infinite number of horse and foot, by the aduice of *Xenophon*, cast themselves into this forme; his words are in effect these, *Wee shall, it may be march in more safety, if we order our selues into a Plesium of armed foot, and giue the carriage and disarmed multitude a place of security within the hollownesse of the battaile. If therefore it be now resolued afore-hand, who shall command in the front of the Plesium, and take charge of Vaunt, who on the flanks, and who in the reare, we shall not neede to take aduise at the approach of the enemy, but put in execution that which is resolued before.* And a little after: *And mine opinio is, that Cherisophus is the fittest Commander for the Vaunt, because he is a Lacedæmonian; and let two of the eldest Coronels take care of the Flankes; the yongest, namely my selfe and Timasion, will looke to the reare.* This was *Xenophon's* counsell, and in this forme they marched, and being charged afterward with both Persian Horse and foot, they defended themselves against all efforts of the Enemy. The quadruple battaile therefore was vsed, when the enemy was expected to giue on all sides; and he that can frame it, can easily cast his troopes into the other two formes; yet will not euery receiuing the enemy in flanke proue a Deduction; for in case of necessity and suddē approaches of the enemy, you shall be driuen to *Facing*, wherein you onely turne the faces of souldiers to the flanke without any deduction. See the figure of this battaile exprest in the picture.

5. *Doe make the length double to the depth.*] I suspect this place to be corrupted in the text of *Ælian*, the rather because before in the description of a Deduction, he saith that *Deductions* proceed in a wing, wherein the depth<sup>a</sup> manifoldly exceedeth the length of the battaile, as the last fore-going chapter doth shew. Besides the example, which is giuen in the text is not of double proportion, but of treble and more, ten comprehending three, three times and more.

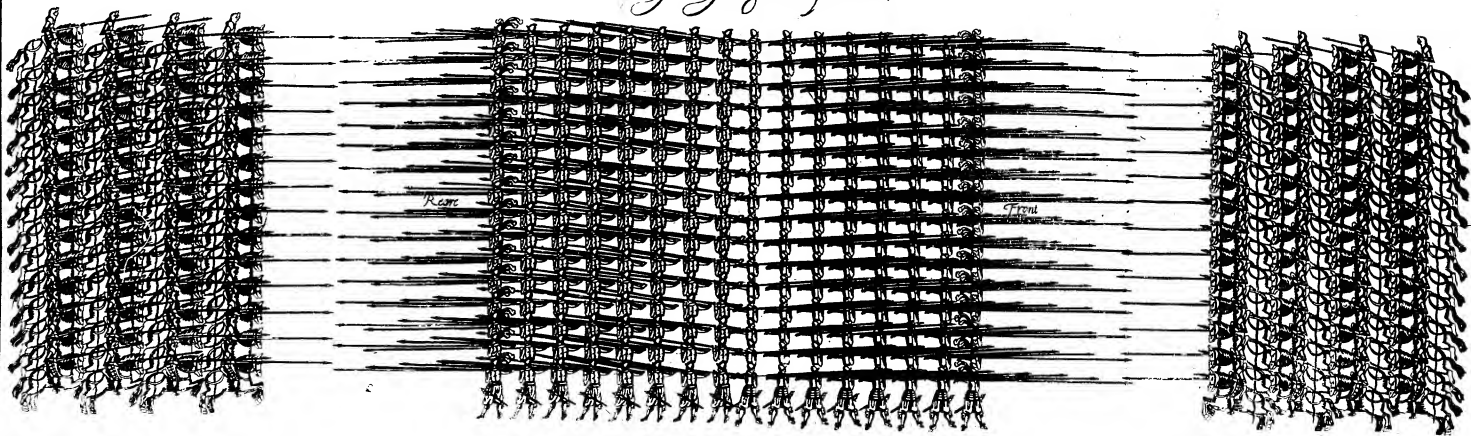
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*Of the Phalange Antistomus.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

- (1)  He Phalange Amphistomus (for it is so called, because it hath two fronts, and that part of the battaile that is set and aduanced against the enemy, is called a front:) seeing then in this forme the middle-most are ordered backe to backe, and those in the front and reare make head against the enemy, the one being Commanders in front, the other in reare, therefore it is called Amphistomus. It is of great vse against an enemy strong in Horse and able to giue a hot and dangerous charge, and principally practised against

Cap. 38.  
*The Palange Amphistomus*



gainst those Barbarians that inhabit about the river Ister, whom they also call Amhippi, because they change their Horse in fight. The Horse battaile to encounter this forme hath a tetragonall shape, being for the purpose diuided into two broad squares (they are called broad squares, that haue the front twice as much as the depth) and those squares are opposed severally against the flanks of the foot-battaile.

# NOTES.

(1) **T** Here are many kinds of battailes, which being vsfull for a march, are described partly in the former two chapters, partly in this and in the chapters following, whereof some are for ease of the march (as the *induction*) some for fight. Those which are for fight, are either *offensive*, or else *defensive*. Of the *offensive* kinde is the *Cæmbolos* before mentioned, of the *defensive* the *Triphalange* to be opposed against the *Cæmbolos*, and both the *deductions*, which are represented in the two last Chapters: and in this chapter is described another of the *defensive* formes, that is to say the *Phalange Antistomus*; in which although the march be not continued (for it is alwayes taken vp in a stand, to resist a charge of the enemy) yet it is a remedy *defensive* against the sudden attempts of the enemy which is about to charge your reare.

2. *The Phalange Amphistomus.*] The title of this chapter is litigious, and there is a controuersie amongst the learned, which of two names the chapter should beare.. *Gaza*, *Gesner*, and *Arcierus*, would haue it inscribed *Antistomus*; *Robertellus*, *Amphistomus*: I haue in the translation followed the opinion of *Robertellus*; my reason was, because of these words in *Ælian*, *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς προσβάλλουσιν τοῖς ποταμίοις*, they in the beginnings (ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς) charge the enemy: which word ἀρχαί, I haue not read applied to the flanks, and therefore tooke it for front and reare, because the one, namely the front is as it were the beginning of the battaile, the other, viz. the reare, is the end. In which sence if you take the word, the description must needs agree with the *Amphistomus*, which (the enemy charging both front and reare) with the *file-leaders* and their halfe files as they stand, receiue those that charge the front, with the *brnigers*-up, and the other halfe files facing about to the right or left hand, those which charge the reare. But since, vpon better consideration, I thinke there is a fault in the text; and where it is written ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, it should be corrected and written (as I take it) ἐν ταῖς ἄκροις. For that τὰ ἄκρα signify the flanks of the battaile. <sup>a</sup> *Iulius Pollux* testifieth in these words; τῶν μαχημένων τὸ ἐμπροσθεν καλεῖται μέτωπον, καὶ ὕστερον καὶ πρόσωπον, τὰ ἐκείρην, ἄκρα, πτερὰ, κέρατα. <sup>a</sup> *Iul. Pollux. l. i.*

τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ ἐξώτερμον: τὸ δὲ μέσον ὀμφαλὸς; τὸ δὲ βαθεὺς τοῖχος καλεῖται. The forepart of those that fight, is called the front, the ranks; and the face; the outward parts on each side (τὰ ἐκείρην, ἄκρα) the flanks, the wings, the right and the left; the midst the navel; the depth, the parget, or wall. The like doth <sup>b</sup> *Leo* in many places: and as farre as I can read, τὰ ἄκρα in the plurall number is generally taken for the flanks; albeit τὸ ἄκρον in the singular number I deny not to be vsed for the reare sometimes: as in <sup>c</sup> *Xenophon*, who describing a fight betwixt the *Coryreians* and *Lacedemonians*, hath thus; *Mnasippus* (the *Lacedemonian* General) embattailing his army put the enemy, that was neere the gates to flight, and followed the chace. They being come neere the wals, turned againe, and threw and cast dart: <sup>d</sup> *Arr. l. 5. 109. F.* <sup>e</sup> *Leo c. 7. §. 58. 19.* <sup>f</sup> *c. 14. §. 3. 9. 70.* <sup>g</sup> *87. 89. Xenoph.* <sup>h</sup> *Cyrop. 1. 78. E. Agathias p. 39. l. 19.* who also calleth the front-point of a wedge κεφαλὴ.

ἡ πρὸς ἐσχατίας.  
 ὁ ἐπὶ ὀκτώ τῷ  
 τῷ μὲν  
 ὁ τὸ ἀκροῦ τῆς  
 φάλαγγος.

τὸ ἀκροῦ τῆς κῆ-  
 ρατος. Diodor. sic.  
 li. 19. 693.

1184. C.  
 Suidas vñeth  
 διὰ τὴν ἄρ' ἵκ' ἵκ'  
 the right wing,  
 now the wing  
 stretcheth in  
 front, from the  
 middle section  
 to the point of  
 the battaile  
*Ælian* 6. 7.

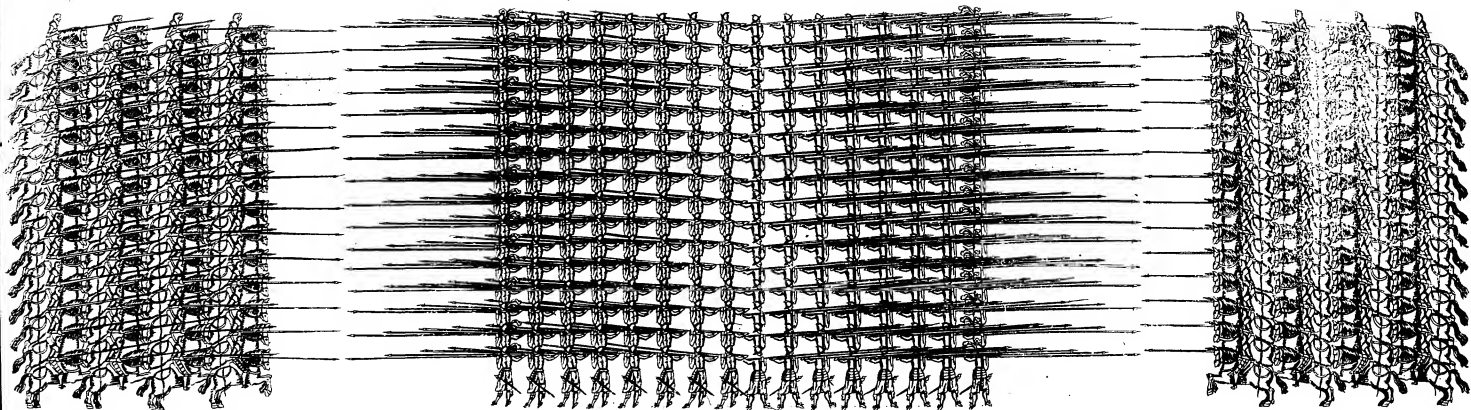
darts from the mountaines: other running out of the other gates in good numbers fell upon the<sup>b</sup> reare of the Lacedemonians, who being ordered but<sup>c</sup> 8 deep, and thinking the<sup>d</sup> reare of the Phalange to be but weake, endeaoured to retire and fall off. The enemy no sooner saw them giue ground, but presently fel on more eagerly, imagining they fled: neither did they turne their faces any more, and they who stood next vnto them sought with all speed to saue themselves by flight. Mnasippus could giue no aid to his distressed souldiers by reason hee was hardly laid to by the Corcireans, that came to hands with him; and his number by little and little decreased: at last the enemy in great numbers pressed them sore that stood about Mnasippus, who were now reduced to a very few. And the armed foot of the Citty seeing what was done abroad, issued out, and after they had slaine Mnasippus, they followed the chace all of them together. Thus Xenophon. And thus you may see τὰ ἀκροῦ in the singular number taken for the reare of the Phalange. howsoeuer, τὰ ἀκροῦ in the plurall, signifieth the flanks. The Antistomus Phalange therefore differing from the Amphistomus in this only, because the last maintaines fight in front and reare, the first in both flanks, and *Ælian* in this Chapter describing the battel which maintaines the fight in the flanks, it seemeth that the inscription ought to be of the Phalange Antistomus, and that the text ought to be ἐν τοῖς ἀκροῖς and not ἐκ τῶν. It may after a sort appear by *Ælian* himselfe in the next Chapter, where making a difference betwixt these two battailes, he saith plainly, that the Antistomus fighteth ἐξ ἀκροῦ. Read then in the text, *Those in the flanks make head against the enemy*, in stead of these words: *Those in front and reare*, and all the rest will agree to the Phalange Antistomus.

3. *It is of great vse*] The vse of this battaile is principally against horse, as *Ælian* giueth to vnderstand; because they are quicke and speedy, and can suddenly turne, diuide themselves, and charge where they list. And the flanks of the battell being the weakest part (for your best men are placed in the front and reare) it is needfull to finde out some meanes to defend them, which is to instruct your Souldiers how to receiue the charge by turning their faces to the flankes. In front you are alwaies ready; because faces and weapons are bent that way. Effect the like in the flankes, and you shall be able to resist any charge of the enemy. For foot, the danger is not so great, because your men shall be able to face euery way, as readily as the enemy; giue them only exercise, and acquaint them with that manner of fight.

4. *And principally practised against the Barbarians.*] That it was much vsed amongst the *Grecians* I find not in there history: yet is there no doubt, but the vse may be great in it as well as in the Amphistomus. But I take the reason, why it was seldome put in practice, to be, because the flanks of pikes in the *Grecian* battell were for the most part, garded with horse and light-armed. The front and reare hauing no such defence, were commonly attached by the enemy, seeking all aduantage to distresse them; and in case the horse and light-armed bee absent, the flanks are the fairest marke of the enemy; which can by no other meanes be secured, but by facing that way where he giueth on; which may be evidently seene by the fight *Cyrus* the elder had against *Cresus*, which example you shall see set out in my notes vpon the 46. Chap. page 79.

5. *Those are broad squares*] That which I heere translate a broad square, is in the Greeke *Heteromekes*; of which forme I haue spoken in notes vpon the 30. Chapter.

Cap. 39.  
*The Palange Intestomus*  
Front





## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

39

*Wordes of direction for the Phalange Antistomus (for the forme is described in this Chapter.)*


1. Halfe rankes, face to the right and left hands.
2. Charge your Pikes.

*To restore to the first Posture.*

1. Aduance your Pikes.
2. Face as you were.

(1) *Of the Phalange Antistomus.*

### CHAP. XXXIX.

(1)  He Phalange Antistomus is like to the Amphistomus, the forme being a little altered; so that it accustometh the Soldier to resist the feuerall kindes of incursions of horse. All that hath beene spoken of the former Phalange both for foot and horse, agreeth with this figure also. Heerein they differ, that the (2) *Amphistomus* receiueth the charge in front and reare, the Antistomus in flanke: but as well in the one as the other, they fight with long pikes, as doe the Alans, and Sauromatans: and the one halfe of the souldiers in the files haue their faces bent forward, the other halfe backward, so that they stand backe to backe. This forme hath two fronts, the one before where the file leaders, the other behinde, where the bringers vp stand; And being also diuided into a (3) *Diphlange*, it maketh the fore-front with one, the after-front with the other Phalange.

### NOTES.

(1) **A**S the title of the former Chapter was mistaken, so is the title of this Chapter. The other should haue beene of the *Antistomus* (as I haue before shewed) this of the *Amphistomus*. That it should be of the *Amphistomus*, the very wordes following in this Chapter will proue, which are these: *The one halfe, with the of the armed souldiers in the files haue their faces bent forward, the other halfe backward; so that they stand back to backe: and the battell hath two fronts, one before, where the file-leaders, the other behind, where the bringers vp stand.* He describeth the two fronts by the file-leaders and bringers vp, whose proper places are the front and reare, & not the flanks; and further addeth, that halfe the armed souldiers haue their faces bent forward, (and change not) the other halfe turned about backward; whereas in the Antistomus all the souldiers moue, and halfe face to one flanke, halfe to the other, and none to the front or reare: besides he saith, that halfe the armed in the files stand backe to backe, whereas in the Antistomus halfe the armed in the ranks stand backe to backe, not those of the files. (2) Now that the Amphistomus receiueth the charge of the enemy in the front and reare <sup>a</sup> Leo also <sup>b</sup> Appian; who recounteth that

E 2

*Asdrub: il*

<sup>a</sup> *Locap. 7. § 86.*

<sup>b</sup> *cap. 12. § 29.*

<sup>c</sup> *Appian Punies*

<sup>d</sup> *§ 9*

Afruball the Carthaginian sought to entrap Scipio, joining Mago his general of the horse commandment to charge Scipio his army in front, whilst himself charged it in the rear. But Scipio turning the rear of his battell against Afruball, and opposing the front of it against Mago, overthrew them both, and slew 5000 Carthaginians, and took 1800 prisoners. To make the manner of fight in this forme more plaine, I thought fit to insert an history or two out of Polybius and Arrian, as examples to illustrate that meaning of Aelian. In Polybius this is the history. The Gauls in great multitude vnder the conduct of Concolitanus and Aneroestus their Kings, transcending the Alpes, and passing thorough Lombardy, and falling upon a part of Hetrucia, had gathered rich spoils out of that territory, and being now about to returne to their country, they were pursued by one of the Roman Consuls L. Aemilius and his army, not with intent to fight with them (for hee held it not safe) but to observe fit times and places to distresse them, or else to keepe them from further spoile. At the same time C. Attilius the other Consul having imbarked his legions in Sardinia, and setting saile for Italy arrived at Pisa, and holding his way toward Rome marched directly in the way in which the enemy was coming. The Celts being now about Telamon, a promontory of Hetrucia, their foragers fell into the hands of the Avanturers of Attilius, and were taken prisoners; They informed the Consul of all that hapned, and signified the presence of both armies, telling that the Gauls were at hand, and that L. Aemilius followed them close in their rear. Attilius partly marveling at the strangeness of the newes, and partly being full of good hope, because the Gauls seemed to be surpris'd and hemmed in between two armies, commanded the Tribunes to order his legions in a broad front, and so to lead on leisurely, as long as the ground would give leaue: himselfe in good time discovering a hill which hung over the way, in which the Gauls were to passe, took with him the horse, and fought with all speed to seize upon the top of it, and to begin the meddy, conceiving thereby to haue the honour and title of the whole seruice ascribed to him: the Gauls were at first ignorant of Attilius approaching, but coniectured onely that it might be Aemilius had led his horse about in the night to sit upon secret places: they sent therefore their horse and light-armed to beat the Romans from the hill: but soon understanding by some captives that Attilius was there, they presently embattailed, ordering their army into two fronts, the one before, the other behinde; for they knew that one army was following, and they expected as well by the newes they heard, as by that which they saw fall out at that time, that the other would meet them upon their march: Aemilius heard come that the legions of Attilius were arrived at Pisa, but could not imagine they were come so neere; but after that by the fight about the hill, he perceived certainly they were at hand, he sent out his horse to second those that fought for the hill, himselfe ordering his battels after the Roman wonted fashion, led on against the enemy. The Celts embattailed those that are called Gesates, and dwelt in the Alpes, against Aemilius, who they imagined would charge the rear, and next to them the Infubrians. In the front they set the Tauriscans and Boians (inhabiting beyond the river Po) turning their faces a contrary way to the former, and opposed to the access of Caius Attilius, the waines and waggons they placed without both wings, and sent their pray gained to a hill thereby appointing a sufficient guard to keepe it. So the Amphistomus phalange, which the Celts cast themselves into, was not onely seuerall to the eye, but also fitly ordered for fight. The Infubrians and Boians came forth to fight wearing breeches of a kind of loose and light coats; but the Gesates out of a vainglory and rashness cast them away, and stood naked, seeing that they had their armes alone in the front of the battell, imagining they were by that means fitter for action,

by

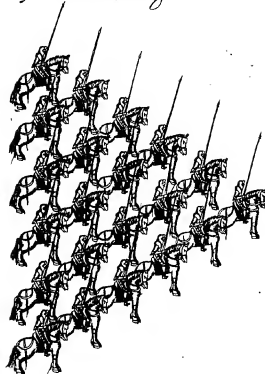
by reason of the bushes of the place, which would catch hold of any garment, and be a hinderance to the use of armes. The first fight was about the hill in the sight of all, by reason that the multitude of so many horse-men out of both armies were mingled together in fight; wherein it happened Attilius to be slaine (while too venturously he offered himselfe to danger) and his head to be presented to the Kings of the Celts, but yet the Roman horse-men brauely fighting, became masters of the place, and of the enemy: After this the foot joining, the accident was rare and vnusall, not onely to them which were present, but also to all those, who can by reading represent before their eyes the truth of that which was done. For first the fight being attacked by 3 armies, it must needs be that the very sight in a manner of the conflict appeared strange and without example; secondly, who would not doubt either now or then whether the Celts manner of embattailing were more dangerous, the enemy charging them in two places at once, or the best and aptest for victory, as opposing against both the enemies at once, and withall securing themselves from encompassing and inuasion of the rear: and which is of most importance, no hope being left of safety, if they should chance to be foyled. For that is the property and profit of the Amphistomus battaille; it made the Romans more confident, to haue the enemy enclased on all sides; and yet the bravery and noyse and tumult of the Celts gave them cause of astonishment; For there was an innumerable multitude of Trumpets and Shalmes, to which the whole army together adding the Paan, the cry was so great, that not onely the trumpets and army, but the places round about with their rebounding echoes seemed of themselves to shake. Furthermore, the sight and motion of the naked men that stood in the front, being in flower of their age, and excelling in tallness of stature, was fearefull. Now all the Gauls that had the front were adorned with bracelets and chains of gold; which the Romans eyeing were partly astonished, partly being filled with rich hopes, were incited much the rather to ioyne battells; but when the darters running out of the Roman army according to their custome, threw many and forcible darts at the Celts, the Celts of the rear found good use of their coats and breeches; but those that fought naked in the front, this accident happening contrary to their expectation, were troubled out of measure and wonderfully perplexed: for the Gaulish target being not of sufficiency to cover a mans body, the greater and nakeder their bodies were, the more were they subiect to wounds, and the lesse the weapons missed the mark. At the last, being not able to save themselves from the light-armed, who plied them a farr off, nor from the multitude of darts that fell amongst them, and being troubled and confused with their present state, some of them out of a rage and brutishness ranne vainly upon the enemy, and willingly offered themselves to slaughter, other retiring leasurably to their friends, and shewing manifest tokens of feare, disordered them behinde. Thus the Roman light-armed allaid the pride of the Gesates. But the multitude of the Infubrians, Boians, and Tauriscans, after the Romans had received their light-armed into their battell, and advanced the cohorts, (of armed) to ioyne hand to hand, maintained a stout fight, and albeit they received many wounds, yet fainted they not in minds, being onely inferior both generally and particularly in the kinde of armes they bore. For both their targets in defence, and their swords in offence, had a great difference; by reason the Gaulois sword is onely fit to strike withall. But when the Roman horse from the hill hasted downe in wing, and stoutly came to handly strokes with them, the foot-men of the Celts were cut in pieces in the places where they fought, and the horse took themselves to flight: There dyed therefore of the Celts 30000, and 10000 were taken prisoners, amongst whom was Concolitan one of the Kings, the other K. Aneroestus, flying to a certaine place with a few killed.

him-

himselfe and his friends that were about him. This example hath *Polibius* of the Amphistomus Phalange; wherein he both sheweth the form, and the vie of it, namely, that it hath a front both waies to receiue the enemies charge before and in the reare. <sup>a</sup> *Arrian* hath another example in the battaile between *Alexander* the Great and *Porus* a king of India; his words are to this effect; *Alexander* was now come within the reach of misliue weapons, when he sent his Archers on horsebacke against the left wing of the Indians, to molest the enemy on that side, both with multitude of arrows, and with incursion of the horse: and himselfe also being with him the troups of Companies spurring on against the same wing, using all celerity to fall upon them (who were yet out of order and in a wing) before they could reduce themselves into a Phalange. In the meane time the Indians knitting together their whole power of horse, made head against *Alexander* with all speed, giving their horse a full carriere. Then *Cannus*, as was commanded, shewed himselfe at their backes. The Indians seeing this, were forced to order their horse in an Amphistomus, opposing one part (the most and strongest) to *Alexander*, the other to *Cannus* and his troups; which thing troubled the array and mindes of the Indians. And *Alexander*, taking hold of the opportunity, charged those which were opposed to him in the instant, while the other were facing about to *Cannus*. The Indians endured not the charge, but fled to the Elephants, as to a castle that was friend. Hitherto *Arrian*. In these two examples is lively set forth the nature and fashion of the Amphistomus phalange. And albeit both the parties that used it were beaten, yet the cause reflected not in the forme, but in the valour of them that fought against it, if the Romans in one example, of *Alexander* in the other; *Alexander* himselfe using this very forme in the battel of <sup>b</sup> *Gangamela*, obtained the famous victory against *Darius*, which is described by *Arrian* in his third book, as did also *Scipio* against *Madrubal* in Spaine: so then by that which hath beene said, the difference betweene the Antistomus and Amphistomus phalange may easily appeare; which albeit they either of them fight against the enemy in two places of the Phalange at once, and are like one to another in that respect, yet they differ in the places of the fight, the one receiuing the charge in both the flanks, other in front and reare. They are both defensive & statary, and if moue with you either of them during the charge of the enemy, you presently break the form, and lay the backe of the foldiers open to be annoied, especially if the enemy ouertop you in number: otherwise it will be no incontinenceto diuide the battell, and to fight apart with both; For that the Antistomus may be diuided, *Ælian* teacheth in the next Chapter: for the Amphistomus, hee saith the like in this Chapter in these words.

3 And also being diuided into a Diphilange. A Diphilange is when a Phalange is diuided into two; and being in one body, it is called a Phalange, in two bodies a Diphilange. About the Diphilange Amphistomus there is variance amongst the writers of this Art. *Ælian* would haue it to bee framed of a Phalange Amphistomus disioyned, and in the midst diuided into two parts: so that the fore-front is made with one of the hinder front with the other Phalange. The Treatise of Military Appellations, annexed to the end of *Saxdas* saith, that that is a Diphilange Amphistomus, which hath the file-leaders on the outsidies of both the flanks in a deduction, and the bringers vp within. I take *Ælian* to be in the right; for if the Amphistomus Phalange must haue the front and reare opposed to the enemy, what reason is there why the Amphistomus Diphilange should not be of the same nature, confid-

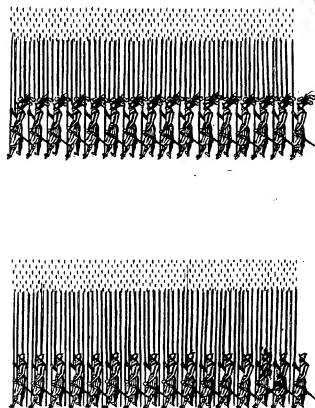
The Horsemen Wedge



Front

Cap. 40.

A Diphilange Antistomus



## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

43

dering that the Diphalangy Antistomus hath the leaders, in the flanks, as the Phalange Antistomus hath: which appeareth not only in the next Chapter, but also in diuers other places of this Booke : neither doe I reade any where, that the Antistomus hath to do with the front and reare, nor the Amphistomus with the flanks.

*The words of direction in the Amphistomus.*

*The hinder*

- 1 Halfe files, face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 Charge the Pikes both waies in front and reare.

*To restore to the first Posture.*

- The hindermost*
- 1 Aduance your Pikes.
  - 2 Halfe files, face as you were.

*Of the Diphalange Antistomus.*

C H A P. XXXX.



*Diphalange Antistomus*, is that which hath the file-leaders placed not in a *deduction* outwardly, but inwardly face to face one against another, and the reare-Commanders without, one halfe in right, the other halfe in a left deduction. This forme is vsed against Horse, which giue on and charge wedge-wise: for the wedgeshooting forth in a point, and hauing the Commanders following in the flanks, and indeauouring to disseuer and breake the Front of the foot, the Leaders of the foot fore-seeing their purpose, place themselues in the midst, with intent either to repulse them, or else to giue them a thorow passage without losse. For the *wedge* flieth vp on the foote in hope to charge the multitude in the midst; and the foote Commanders conceiuing well the fury of that forme, leaue a little space betwixt the 2 fronts, and stand like walles on both sides, and ioyntrly *facing* toward the midst, giue them a fruitlesse and empty passage. This forme of Horse battaile is called by the *Tactiks* a *wedge*, which was inuented by *Philip* King of Macedony, who placed his best men before, that by them the weaker sort might be held in & enabled to the charge. As we see in a Speare or sword, the point whereof quickly piercing, makes way for, and letteth in the middle blunt yron.

NOTES.

**A** *Diphalange Antistomus.*] This Diphalange is thus defined by *Suidas*; *Suidas*, in *A Diphalange Antistomus* is that, which hath the file-leaders placed in the midst, and the bringers vp ordered without on both flanks in deductions: which words differ a little in speech, in sence are all one with *Ælians*. They both agree that the file-leaders should be placed within the midst of the battaile face to face in deductions, the bringers vp on the flanks without. In the text, and in fashioning of the battaile, there is no difficulty. The file-leaders must be placed

placed in the midst within, the bringers vp on the flanks without; and the battaile being first closed, must be suddenly opened vpon the charge of the Horse in the midst, and the file-leaders diuiding themselves halfe on one side, halfe on the other, and facing to the middle space with their whole files push at the Horse with their Pikes, as they passe thorow. It is called a Diphallange, because the phallange is parted in two; as the battaile opposed against the Cælembolos is named a Triphallange, because it consisteth of three parts severall, and in the ninth Chapter the whole Macedonian phallange is named a Tetraphallangarchy, because the body is diuided into foure severall parts: and it is named a Diphallange Antistomus, because as the Phallange Antistomus receiue the Horse without in the flanks, and so repulseth them. So this altering that forme, onely by placing the file-leaders in depth within, and opening vpon the sudden receiue the Horse in the opened void space, either to be ouerthrowne by their Pikes, or else to giue them a passage without danger to themselves. This is one of the defensive battailes whereof I spake before. It is put in practice faith Ælian

When the Horse charge Wedge-wise. What a Wedge is, and of what force amongst the Horse-battailles, I haue noted vpon the 18 Chapter. Against it Ælian opposeth this forme of foot. But is there no other vse of it? Yes. For both the Cælembolos and Peristomus are as it were daughters, and proceed out of the loynes of this forme, both hauing their file-leaders in deductions within the body, and both opening, the first the front, the other the whole body, when they goe to charge; and yet the Diphallange Antistomus is defensive, the other two offensive formes. I will accordingly as I haue begun, illustrate the manner of the Dephallange Antistomus with an example or two. \* Xenophon describing the fight that was betweene Artaxerxes the king of Persia and Cyrus the younger, tellethe of Tissaphernes (one of the foure Generals of Artaxerxes his army, that he fled not in the first ioyning of the armies, but brake thorow the Grecian Peltasts (targetiers) that stood embattailed by the river. Breaking thorow, he slew no man: for the Grecians opening their battell, strooke and threw darts as his horsemen, as they passed thorough. Episthenes the Amphipolita, who held the estimation of an understanding souldier, was then commander of the Peltasts. Tissaphernes therefore withdrawing himselfe as one that had the worst, returned no more to fight, but going to the Grecian Campe, met the King there. So Xenophon. Out of which passage wee may perceiue the vse of this manner of embattailing. Tissaphernes chose out the Grecians to charge the Peltasts the weakest kind of souldiers to make resistance against the horse, by reason they were furnished with small targets onely and darts. Then hee chargeth with his horse in a full Carriere: to auoide the fury of the horse, they opened and gaue him a free passage, but not without stroakes and darts sent at his horse; and so made his charge more hurtfull to himselfe then vnto them: I cannot say the file-leaders were here in the midst, as Ælian requireth, because the charge was sudden and vnexpected. In premeditated defences, there is no doubt, but it is the better way to place the file-leaders in the midst, considering they are accounted the strength of the battell, and in all conueniences are first brought to fight, especially being armed men, and able to offend the horse with their Pikes; This opening then auailed against the giuing on of horse ordered in a narrow front: for that was the manner of ordering the Persian horse; and it may serue for any horse-battaille if be

wide

wide enough to receiue the horse within the front. Of ancient time sythed Chariots were in request, to which the foot whether light or armed could make small resistance; they had two long stauies appointed with sharpe iron fastened to the beame of the chariot bearing out before, and sythes standing out on all sides to cut asunder whatsoever came in the way: the horse were armed, and hardly to be wounded, as you may see in the figure of the 23 Chapter. The remedy then against them was to open the battaile in front and reate, to the end to let them passe thorough, which opening was after the manner set downe in this Chapter. \* Alexander at Gaugamela being to fight with Darius, who had many of this kinde of chariots, and fearing the danger they might bring to his army, commanded his Phallange of foot, that when the Chariots approached they should knit themselves shoulder to shoulder, and beat their pikes vpon their targets, that the horse being affrighted with the noise, might turne, and run the contrary way. But if by such means they would not be repressed, then he willed them to open and make wide distances, thorow which they might hold on their course without danger to his people. This was the prouision of Alexander against the Chariots: The event followes. After the trumpets had giuen the signe of battaile, the armies charged one another casting forth great cries: And first the sythed Chariots flying out amaine, gaue much amazement and terrour to the Macedonians. For Mazæus one of the Generals of Darius his horse, to the end to make the falling on of the horse more terrible, came thundering with his troups of horse in the reare of the chariots: But when the Phallange ioynd target to target, and euery man beat his target according to the Kings direction, there arose a great noise; by reason whereof many of the chariots, the horses being affrighted, turned backe, and with vnresistible violence rushed vpon their owne people: other falling vpon the Macedonians, who made large distances, those which entered were partly ouerwhelmed with darts, partly passed quiet thorough; some being carried with the violence of their course, and working mightily with their sharpe sythes, brought with them many and sundry kinds of death: for the force of their sythes had such power to destroy, that from many it cut off the armes and targets and all; the necks of not a few were carued, heads falling to the ground the eyes yet seeing, the countenance not altered; of some the it tore out the sides and put them to a speedy death. Hitherto of the history of Diodorus. But where he noteth the harms, that came from the sythed chariots, I take it they might haue bene auoied, if the distances had bene wide enough, because I finde in Xenophon in the battaile betwixt Artaxerxes and Cyrus mentioned by me before, that many of the chariots of the Persians ranne thorough the Phallange of the Grecians without hurt to any man. To returne then to the vse of this forme, it hath heeretofore, and may at this day bee put in practice against horse; and not onely against horse ordered in a wedge, but also giuing on in a square, if it be so they charge by troopes, and the opening be wide enough, and sudden to receiue the front of the horse. For against a grosse of horse, they cannot haue time to open wide enough; and if they open too timely, they leaue liberty to the horse to charge either of the parts opened, as themselves shall please; and by diuiding themselves, they diminish their owne strength.

Words

*Words of direction for the Diphalance Antistomus.*

1 Wheele the wings into the middest of the battaile

2 Face to the Front.

3 Open your battaile.

4 Face to the middest.

5 Charge your Pikes.

This is done if the middlemost 2 file-leaders stand firme, & the rest with their files wheele till they meet, and then stand: the face to the front; and when the Horse charge, open the middest suddenly, and facing one against another, charge your Pikes against the Horse.

*Restoring to the first Posture.*

1 Advance your Pikes.

2 Close your battaile.

3 Face to the right and left hand.

4 Wheele the middest of the battaile to the wings.

5 Face as you were at first and stand.

*of the Peristomus Diphalance.*

## CHAP. XXXXI.

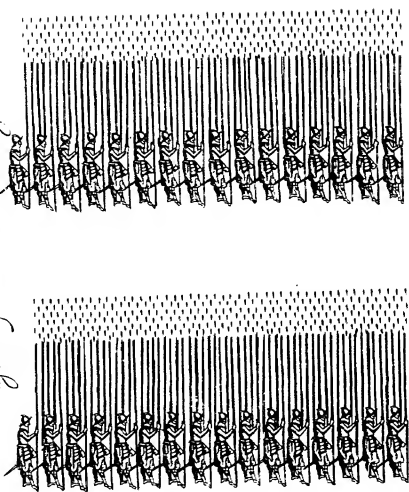


**T**HE Phalange of the Diphalance Peristomus proceede by deduction in a wing, the oblique deduction on the right hand, hauing the file-leaders without: the left hand oblique deduction, hauing the reare-commanders within. The figure sheweth the intent of them that fight so ordered: For the battaile going to charge, hauing beene at first Tetragonall, diuideth it selfe into two oblique wings, the right and the left, of purpose to enclose the aduersè square battaile; and they fearing to be enclosed, transforme themselues into two marching Phalanges, directing one against the right, the other against the left wing: therefore is it called Peristomus, as hauing the front bent against the enemy both wayes.

## NOTES.

(1) **A**Bout the inscription of this Chapter also there is a controuersie amongst the Interpreters; some would haue it of the *Peristomus diphalance*, some of the *Amphistomus Diphalance*, and of the *Peristomus*. Why any man should imagine that the *Amphistomus Diphalance* is here described, I conceiue

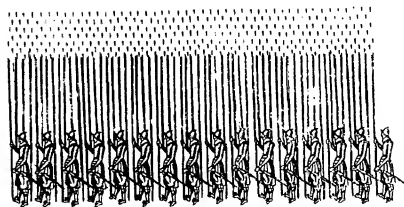
The square devised in two and sett  
against y<sup>e</sup> Peristomus two wings



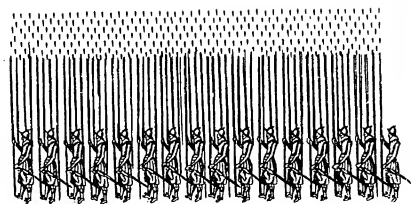
Cap. 43.

The Diphalange Peristomus

The mean frame of y<sup>e</sup>  
Peristomus



The left wing of y<sup>e</sup> Peristomus



The right wing of y<sup>e</sup> Peristomus

conceiue not, vnlesse he should seeme to make *Elion* contrary to himselfe. For the Amphistomus Diphallange hath nothing to doe with the flanks, as appeareth by *Elion* in the 34 Chapter. This Diphallange fighteth altogether in flanke, as the description declareth.

*The Phalanges of the Diphallange Peristomus.*] What a *wing* is, and what *deduction* I haue shewed before. The meaning is, that the Phalanges Peristomus are both of them led obliquely (with the file-leaders in flanke) and in two deepe bodies; whereof the one hath in purpose to charge the right flanke, the other the left flanke of the aduerser square battaile.

2 *The oblique deduction on the right hand.*] Albeit both these Phalanges are called oblique, yet we may not imagine, that these Loxe-phalanges are the same that is described in the 30 Chapter. For in that one of the Phalange forbore the fight, the other aduanceth to ioyn with the enemy; in this both fight at once, and haue their aduantage by charging the flanks of the enemy. That began the fight in front & had there the file-leaders, this in both flanks; this seeks to encompasse, that to auoid encompassing it selfe, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the same Chapter.

3 *The oblique deduction on the right-hand, hauing the file-leaders without.*] I must imagine, till further information, that here is a fault in the text: my reason is this; all *deductions* are made to oppose the file-leaders against the enemy in fight. So is the right-hand *deduction* vsed, when it is suspected the enemy will charge the right-hand flanke: the left-hand *Deduction*, when it is suspected he will charge the left; so in wheelings we turne the front against the enemy, so in countermarches. Now this forme being inuented to encompasse the enemy, and to fight vpon his flanks, I would thinke the file-leaders ought to be placed on the inward flanks of the Diphallange; as it is in the *Cæmbolos*; for were the bringers vp to be within, they should sustaine all the weight of the fight, the battaile being once diuided, and the file-leaders standing without should idly looke on, which is contrary to the military discipline of the Grecians, whose care was to vse the file-leaders in fight as much as was possible. Neither is it thereupon to be concluded, that this Diphallange and the Diphallange Antistomus are all one. For although both haue their file-leaders within, yet doe they differ both in forme and end. In forme, because this moueth forward with both Phalanges; the other standeth still: this is oblique, the other in a streight line; that hath the front of the two phalanges even, this (as it falleth out in the motion) sometimes the one more forward, sometimes the other. In their ends, because this goeth to assault and to breake the enemies battaile, the other standeth fast and seeks onely to saue it selfe; the one being offensive, the other defensive. So that, as I said before, the *Cæmbolos* and this are both framed out of the Diphallange Antistomus, both hauing their file-leaders within the midst of the battaile; and yet differ in that the *Cæmbolos* is but one body hollowed within; this diuided into two bodies.

*And they fearing to be enclosed.*] The case of this square is almost all one with the square against which the *Cæmbolos* is opposed: For both are in danger to be enclosed. Now as the other square was faine to cast it selfe into a *Triphallange*, and to oppose two of the *phalanges* against the two wings of the *Cæmbolos*, reseruing the third for all accidents; so this square diuideth it selfe into two *phalanges* (but hath no third) setting the one against the right-

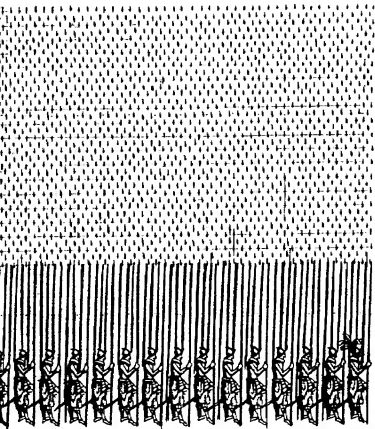


*Arr. l. 5. tit. C.  
Died. Sic. l. 609.*

right-hand battaile of the Peristomus, the other against the left; for by this opposition they inhibit the enemy from attaching their flanks. Of this forme I finde not many *presidents* in the Greeke history; I will receite one-ly one out of *Arrian* concerning *Alexander*, which if it hit not this forme in euery point, yet it hath fully the effect of that which is intended by *Ælian*: *Alexander* being to deliuer battaile to *Porus* a King of part of India, lying on the other side of the riuer *Hydaspes*, found his enemies army to be thus embattailed; He had placed his Elephants in the front 100 foot distant one from another; and he placed them there to giue terror to *Alexanders* Horse. for he imagined that no enemy durst approach the spaces betwixt the Elephants, neither with Horse for feare of the Elephants, and much lesse with foot, because the armed on his side were there to receiue them, and the Elephants would tread and trample them under their feet. Next he ordered the foot, not in an equall front with the beasts, but in a second front after them, so that the files came vp almost to the spaces betwixt the Elephants; besides, he added foot vpon the wings about the Elephants. On both the wings of the foot he ordered his Horse, and before them his Chariots. This was the embattailing of *Porus*. *Alexander* as soone as he saw the Indians stand in battaile array, caused his Horse to make alte, that he might haue his foot come vp, who aduanced still forward. And when the Phalange was come vnto him running he embattailed it not presently, nor forthwith led it against the enemy, lest he should deliuer it weary and out of breath into the hands of the Barbarians, that were fresh; but circling and riding here and there in rounds with his Horse, he rested his foot, and gaue them time to refresh themselves. And after he beheld the Indian manner of Embattailing, he thought it not good to giue vpon the mid left (of the front) where the Elephants stood, and the Phalange was close ordered against the spaces of the Elephants, fearing the reasons that led *Porus* to embattaille in that forme. But, as he was stronger in horse, taking to him the most of his Horse, he speeded to the left wing of the enemy in purpose to giue on there, and sent *Cœnus* with *Demetrius* his troope and his owne troope against the right wing; commanding him, that when the Barbarians seeing his troopes, should turne their strength of Horse against him, *Cœnus* should invade their backs. He gaue the Phalange to *Seleucus*, *Antigones* and *Tauron* to lead; commanding them not to fall on, before they saw the enemies foot and horse put into a bransle by his Horse. What the euent of the fight was, I haue before shewed in my notes vpon the Phalange *Amphistomus*, where I haue cited the latter end of this history. Now may be seene by this example, that *Alexander* began the fight not in the front, but in the flanks; and the cause why he did it, was, because the front was exceeding strong by reason of the Elephants. And by this meanes defeating first the enemies Horse, then his foot, he left the Elephants naked, and without defence against the darts and other misse weapons of the *Macedonians*, and gained a worthy victory against a strong enemy. Now albeit this example come not home in all points to the *Peristomus* (for *Ælian* limiteth it to foot against foot, this fight was betwixt Horse and Horse) yet is the reason of warre alike in both. For as the file-leaders of the *Peristomus* giue on vpon the flanke of the aduerse square, which is the weakest part of it; so did the Horse of *Alexander* surmounting the Indians both in number and valor, giue on vpon the flanks of *Porus* his army which was weakest, and so began and ended the victory.

*It is called Peristomus, as hauing the front bent.]* That is, being diuided into halfe, the one Phalange marching obliquely, commeth vp and chargeth one flanke

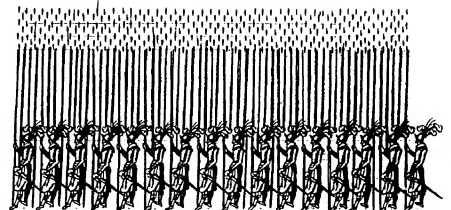
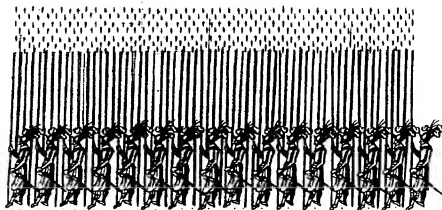
*The Battail called Plinthism*



*Cap. 42.*

*The Diphallenge Homoiostomus*

*The front*



## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

49

flanke of the aduerse battaille, the other chargeth the other, and so hath the fronts against the enermies both waies.

*Words of direction in the Perilomus.*

- 1 Wheele your front into the midst of the battaille.
- 2 Face to the front.
- 3 One wing march out obliquely, and charge the right flanke of the enemy, the other the left flanke.

*Of the Diphallange homoiostomus, and of the Plinthium.*

### CHAP. XLII.



Diphallange (1) Homoiostomus is so named, because a (2) whole file (that is 16 men) moving by it selfe; another file followeth it! and it is therefore called Homoiostomus, because they that follow, follow in a like figure.

3 This kind is opposed against the Plinthium; (4) Plinthium is a forme of battaille, that hath the sides equall both in figure and number. In figure, because the distances are every where equall. In number, because there are as many men in length as in depth. (5) In this foure-sided battaille are none in the foure sides but armed, without archer or sling to helpe: when therefore two Phallanges march together, and both haue their leaders in a right-hand or left-handed deduction, it is called a Diphallange Homoiostomus.

### NOTES.

**H**omoiostomus is a Diphallange, the battailes whereof haue like fronts. To this forme is incident, first that it be marching, then that it march in *deductions*; lastly, that the deductions be vpon one and the selfe, and not vpon contrary sides, *viz.* that the file-leaders of the Phallanges, be all of them either vpon the right hand, or vpon the left hand of their Phallanges. And therefore *Suidas* defineth it to be a *Diphallange*, which hath the leaders of either Phallange ordered in the same side of the march. Where he saith that the leaders are ordered on the same side in both Phallanges (which words are likewise in *Alian* in the end of the Chapter) wee must vnderstand not the leaders of the March, but the file-leaders, who are also called *hypagages*, or leaders: For as *Alian* saith elsewhere, the march in a *Deduction* proceedeth in wing not by file but by ranke, so that the file-leaders are in the flanks not in the front of the march; and yet a man may truly tearme it the front of the battaille, as long as it standeth and faceth against the enemy.

2 *Because a whole file.* I am out of doubt that this place is corrupted; any man that marketh the coherence will easily be of mine opinion. The inscription is of a Diphallange, which consisteth of two phallanges. The cause why this forme is called a Diphallange, Homoiostomus, is in these words assigned to be, because a whole file, that is, 16 men moving, another file followeth it:

F

le 3

## The Tactics of Ælian, or

let one file follow another, which is that to two Phalanges? Every Phalange hath many files in it, as the \* seventh Chapter will teach vs; nor will any man say that a file is a phalange, nor that the following of one file singly after the other will make a Diphalange: the truer cause is alleadged in the words following: It is therefore called Homoiotomus, because *they that follow, follow in the like figure*: which words albeit they be generall, yet being explained and particularised in the end of the Chapter, they shew, *that it is called a Diphalange Homoiotomus when two phalanges follow one another, either in a right, or a left hand deduction*. And by that part of the text the nature of the Homoiotomus is sufficiently expressed.

a A square battail of men and ground both.

3 *This is opposed against the b Plinthium.* How this forme should be opposed against the Plinthium, I must confesse I yet vnderstand not, vnlesse it be that being in a march, the Plinthium charge one of them on that side where the deduction, (that is in the front, for the flanke is now become the front) (the file-leader facing to the enemy way) and that the other if it be the leading phalange retiring & whealing, the following file aduancing and whealing) giue vpon the flanke of the Plinthium, so that the Plinthium be charged both in front and in flanke, which is no small aduantage in fight; for otherwise if the Plinthium meet the Phalanges so following one another, and charge the front which leadeth (which indeed is not the front but the leading flanke, in as much as the march proceedeth not by file but by ranke, as Ælian hath) the deduction not onely loseth the benefit of bringing the file leaders to fight, but is also subiect to one winging, and by that meanes in worse case then is the induction which hath the file-leaders in front. There are other vses of the Homoiotomus, they are here specified by Ælian. For the Deduction directing the front against the enemy that appeareth, or is like to appeare on the flank of the deduction, the phalanges may fitly second one another, when either of them is charged; but unlike the two battalions of foot, which *is a* *give* holdeth sufficient to repulse the charge of horse in open field or Champaign. And if both the deductions be charged at once, they are at no greater inconuenience, then if they stood ranged in ordinary manner, being either of them 16 deepe, and the fronts which are in the deduction ready to receiue the assault of the enemy, and the rest of the lines disposed, as in the ordinary Phalanx.

La. Nones Second Paradox.

4 *Plinthium is a form of battail.* This definition comprehendeth not all Plinthiums, for there is a kind of even-sided Plinthium (it is called *πλινθιον*, which hath the front & flanks of one length: and it is it which Ælian here defineth. There is also a kind of I linthium that is deeper in flanke then the front is long, which of ancient time was called *πυργος* in greeke, in english a tower, the name of Plinthium is deuoted from *πλινθος*, a brick, because as the brick is square, so is this battail, which is the reason I thinke, that it is often confounded Plesium, this being also a square battail, and the name deduced from the word wherein bricks are fashioned, which mould is called in greeke *πλινθιον* to forme. The difference betwixt them according to Ælianus, that the Plinthium is a perfect square equall both in length and depth, the Plesium a square longer in front then flanke.

a Establishing frontiers: in which is expressed the way of the battail.

5 *In this figure are none but armed in the fore side.* what then becomes of the light-armed? they must be conuained into the midst, and the Plinthium ought to be hollow within as well to receiue them, as those of the army that are

## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

are vnfit for fight. Leo hath this precept: *If the enemy be horse, you are to order the army into the square figure of a Plinthium, and cast into the (hollow) midst the carriage, beasts and carriage, and without them the armed, and furthest without the archers, that so you may dismarch in safety*; yet this placing the archers without is contrary to Ælian, & to many experiences mentioned in the Greeke history. \* Timotheus the Athenian purposing to passe by the City Olynthus, and fearing the Olynthian horse-men, ordered his army into a broad-fronted Plinthium, casting the baggage and horse into the midst, and causing the waggons to be driven thronging and fastned together, the armed foot being without on all sides; so that the Olynthian horse could not come to distresse them. Brasidas the Lacedemonian being in Illyrium forsaken of the Macedonians his allies, expecting to be set vpon by Arrhybeus and the Illyrians, reduced his armed into a square, and taking the light-armed into the midst, resolved to retire: the youngest hee appointed to fall out if the enemy charged on any side; Himselfe with 300 chosen men took vpon him to secure the reare, and to resist the enemy that should first come to charge. The Barbarians seeing him dismarch, followed with great shouts and cries, imagining hee fled, and hoping to take him and cut his throat: but when the light-armed fell out and met them, where sooner they gaue on and himselfe with his selected band receiued them, and contrary to their opinion stood firme, and repulsed the first charge, and euer as they forbore to charge held on his way: the most part of the Barbarians left the Grecians, and appointing a party to follow their reare, the rest pursued the Macedonians that fled, and killed as many as they lighted vpon. The like forme was vsed in Elephants by the capitaines of Eumenes and Ptolemy against a surprise of Antigonus. Diodorus Siculus reporteth the history thus. *Antigonus being advertised, that all Eumenes his forces were come vnto him but onely his Elephants, and that the Elephants were expected out of their garrisons and were farre off alone, and without ayde of horse and foot, sent against them 2000 square-men being Medes, 300 Tarentines, and all his light-armed foot; for hee hoped that falling vpon the Elephants alone, hee might easily become master of them, and deprive his enemy of his greatest strength.* Eumenes casting in his minde what might happen, dispatched away 1500 of his best horse, and 300 light armed foot. Antigonus people appearing first; the commanders of the Elephants ordering the beasts into a Plinthium, marched forward, throwing the carriage into the midst, having 300 horse and no more to make head in the reare; the enemy falling on with all their might, and hotly charging, the horse being overlaid with number, were put to flight. The riders of Elephants at first made good resistance and stood to it, albeit they were wounded on all sides, and not able to hurt the enemy; and being now at the last cast, the forces of Eumenes unexpectedly shewing themselves, snatched them out of all danger and distresse. *Agagilus* vsed this forme against the Thebans; the Argiraspides against Antigonus: the history is this; Antigonus hauing the better against the horse of Eumenes, diuided his horse into two parts, the one hee tooke to himselfe and obserued Eumenes, the other hee gaue to Pythion willing him to charge the Argiraspides and siluer targeteers old soldiers of Alexander deprived of the aide of the horse, but they casting themselves into a Plinthium retired safely to the river. Ælian remembreth nothing concerning the vse of the Plinthium: But wee may learne by the examples rehearsed, that it was then practised when the enemy was too strong and able to charge euery way; and it is one of the foresaid battalies that is mentioned in the 36 & 37 Chap. and vsed principally against horse, but sometimes against horse and foot. Philip

a Poly. m. 39. § 2.

b Diod. Sic. lib. 19.

c Diod. Sic. lib. 19.

d Agagilus. Polyen. 39. § 2.

e Diod. Sic. lib. 19.

Di. d. Sy. v. lib. 16.  
P. 11.

Aelian Particus  
16.  
Plinius Aetolia.

the father of Alexander the Great, being to take arms against the Illyrians who invaded many Cities of his kingdom, leaved 10000 foot, & 600 horse, and with them entered the enemies country. Bardilis the Illyrian King met him with as many foot, and 500 horse: when the armies came together, and with shouts ioynd battaile, Philip bearing the right wing, and the best Macedonian souldiers, commanded the horse to fall on and charge the enemy in flanks: himselfe giving upon the front, began a strong fight. The Illyrians ordering themselves into a Plinthum, valiantly about the onsets; and at the first, the fight was equal, and so continued a good while, by reason of the valour (even on both sides) afterward the horse playing hard the reare and flanks, and Philip with his shot soon valiantly laying at the front, the multitude of the Illyrians were forced to fly. Hence the Plinthum resisted both horse and foot: I will add one example more of repelling horse, the army being cast into a Plinthum, Marcus Antonius seeking to subdue Persia, and to revenge the losse which Cræsus received by the Parthians, (for in that warre Cræsus himselfe was slain, and his army defeated) and having laid siege to a great City called Phreata and finding not the success he looked for, determined to dis-march and lead his arm, out of the Countrey shaming first to ad. truce with the King of Persia, proceeding on his journey he was first opposed by the Parthians, but being repulsed, they re-ved that day. ANTONIUS hereby resolved what to doe: and strengthening his reare and flanks with many darters & slingers, he formed his army into a Plinthum, and willed his horse to fall out and repulse the enemy, but not to follow the chase too farre. The Parthians the next fore day began to be more cool, and neither charged nor were charged, and making winter their presence, were glad to retire to their houses. By this president, we may see, that the Parthians (who were mighty in horse) were fierce upon the Romans as long as they held their ordinary kinde of march, but after they had ordered themselves into a Plinthum, so that the Parthians could not come up to them without much endangering themselves, they thought it best to let them quietly passe and goe whither they would. And thus much of the Di-phalange Homoiotomus and of the Plinthum.

Words of direction in the Homoiotomus.

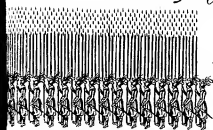
- 1 Wheele your battailes (if they stand in euen front) to the right or left hand.
- 2 March one battaile after the other.

To restore to the first Posture.

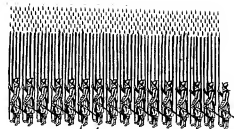
- 1 Face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 Wheele the battailes to the right or left hand, according as the case requireth.
- 3 Face as you were at first.

Cap. 43.

The Di-phalange Heterotomus

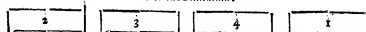


The File-leaders



The bringers up

For the Plinthium.



If there be 4 battalions standing together in an even Front, this I would hold the fittest way to make a Plinthium.

1 Let the first battaile stand firme, or march on; in going forward wheele to the right hand; in falling backe vie the Lacedemonian countermarch.

2 The 3 countermarch the front with a countermarch, then wheel to the left hand, then march forward, and place it selfe behind the right hand flanke of the first, that the Front of it may be in a right line with the said flanke.

3 The 4 in going forward, countermarch the reare with a Macedon countermarch, then wheele your battaile to the right hand, face about; then wheele to the left hand; then march and apply it selfe to the point of the first battaile, as the third did to the right: then face about, and stand thus:

4 The 2 countermarch to the right or left hand: then march on til it be beyond the left point of the 4 battaile; then face to the left hand; and march vp to lay the right-hand-point eue with the right point of the 1 battaile, and face to the right hand, to make the reare of the Plinthium thus:

The feuerall bodies being brought into a Plinthium, must front euery way as long as they make Alte. When they march in a Plinthium, they are all to face toward the head of their march: that is, the right and left flanke battalions are to face the one to the left, the other to the right hand: The reare battaile is to face about to which hand it list, and so march on.

The battalions beside haue euery one their place of dignity: the first battaile hauing the front, the 2 battaile the reare, the 3 battaile the right flanke, the 4 the left flanke.

Front.



Front.



Front.



Front.

Front.

Front.



Front.


Front.

Front.




Of the Diphalang Heterostomus.

CHAP. XLIII.

(1)  Diphalang Heterostomus is that which proceedeth by deduction, hauing the leaders of the former Phalange in a right-hand deduction, and of the following Phalange in a left-hand Deduction, so that the battalions march counterchangeably, one hauing the leaders in one flanke, the other in the other.

N O T E S.

1  Diphalang Heterostomus. As the Homoiostomus consisted of two Phalanges, & both proceeded by deduction, so must this forme. They dif-

# The Tatticks of Aelian, or

fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. The vse of this form is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double sided battaile, whereof Aelian spake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the sleueing vp the latter to the former, and ioyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make alte when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to sleue vp by the reare of it, to make an euen front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: Besides, this forme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphalange Antitomos, by sleueing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such sleueing, the file-leaders of both Phalanges shall be in the midst.

## Words of direction in the Heterostomus.

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

*Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot halfe-moone  
to encounter it.*

## CHAP. XLIIII.

(1) **T**he battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first inuented by Aelian the Thessalian, and was called *ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed his Thessalians. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on every corner: in the front the Captaine, in the reare the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) Menoides or Crescent; hauing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the midst to enuiron and wrap in the horse-men in their giuing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the Tarantines, seeking thereby to dissolue and disorder their circled frame of march. Tarentum is a City in Italy, the horse-men whereof are called Acrobolits, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

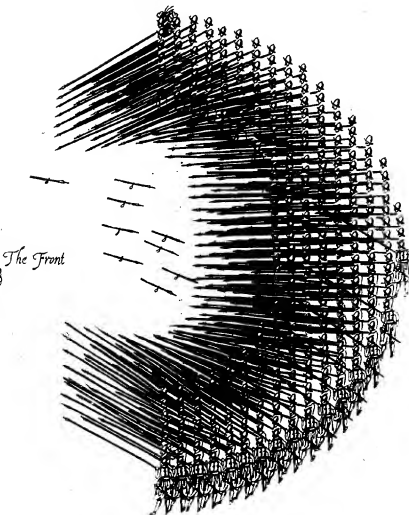
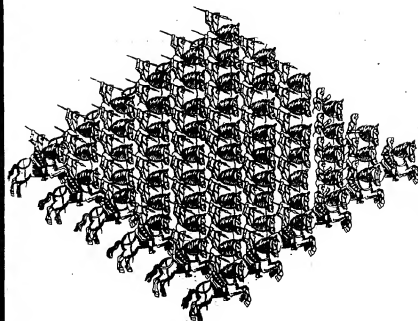
## NOTES.

**T**he battaile in forme of a Rhombe. Of the Rhombe is sufficiently spoken in Chap. 6. before; and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the diuers kinds thereof are there set down. The Thessalians

Cap. 44

The half Moone or Menoides of Ato

The Rhombe of Horse



lians vsed not all those kinds but onely that which sleth, but ranks not, as *Alian* testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described. It was accounted a forme of great violence, & in that forme the Theſſalians got all there reputation, being esteemed the best horse-men of Greece.

2 The foot battaile first to encounter this.] The advantage that horse-men have against foot is great, which is the cause that foot-men have sought to help themselves by divers kind of embattailing to the end to supply by art, that which they want by force and strength. Of which manner of embattailings, many are set down in *Alian*. If more then one troope charge at once, you have the Phalange Amphistomus, Antistomus, and the Plinthis to resist: If but one troope, the Diphallange Antistomus, All which kinds are before described by *Alian*. In this Chapter is another kind described namely, the halfe moone. and there follow in other Chapters the *plagiophalange*, the *picampios emprothia*, and the *wedge*: Of all which we are to discourse in order as they are remembered by our Authours.

3 Is the Menocides or Cressant.] Against the Rhombe of horse *Alian* opposeth the Menocides of foot, a name of battaile borrowed from the shape of the moone. For *Men* is the moone, and the word *oides* (which is ioyned to make up the composition) signifieth a full shape or forme. So the word importeth a shape or forme of the moon: and yet this battaile is not like all shapes of the moone, but like to the new moone when she hath two hornes, and hath the shape of halfe a circle as it were: In which sence *Isis* the Egyptian goddesse (which indeed was the moone, saith *Diodorus Siculus*) was pictured with two hornes from the shew which she maketh being menocides, that is, the new moone, so is a wall sometime called, because of the hollow forme. As when the Rhodians having their wall shrewdly shaken by the engines of battery of *Demetrius*, reared an inward wall in shape of a Cressant, which with the compasse, comprehended all the parts of the outward wal which were battered. The same *Diodorus* calleth it Menocides: the like was don by the Halicarnasseans against *Alexander* the Great, and *Arrian* giueth it the name *Menocides*: a brick halfe moon; the cause of the inuention of this forme, is laide out by *Onofander* & *Leo*. *Onofander* saith *Onofander*, those that have great numbers of men in the field, are wont to figure them into a Cressant, supposing that in charging the enemy will be ready to ioyn man to man, that is, to enter into the semi-circle and fight with them that stand enbowed; in doing whereof, they will be benimed and wrapped in, in the halfe Circle. the wings of the halfe Circle being to bee drawne together round about them, and the whole brought into the forme of a Circle. And *Leo* likewise: The figure bearing the resemblance of halfe a Circle, seemeth to be safe & firme: for it incloseth the enemy that cometh against it in the hollowisse of the Circle, by drawing out the wings into a Circle on both sides, and giueth more courage to fight against them. The causes then to take up this figure in fight are three; one the advantage of multitude of forces in the field, whereby the Generall is enabled to encompass another, the ignorance of the enemy, that ventureth within the compasse of the halfe moone; the third, the efficacy of the figure which serueth to entrap the enemy that is not heedfull and wary in ioyning battaile. It hath bene vsed both against Horse and foot, and sometimes in Sea by one Navy against another, *Alian* esteemeth it good against horse; no doubt when horse charge; and are resisted both in front, and plyed also with flying weapons in flanke, they finde a greater

*Alian* c. 46.

*Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 7*

*Diod. Sic. l. 30.*

*Arrian* l. 12. c.

*Onofander* c. 17.

*Leo* c. 19. 45.

*Leo* c. 34. 184.




fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. These of this form is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double sided battaile, whereof Ælian spake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the sleeuing vp the latter to the former, and ioyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make alte when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to sleeue vp by the reare of it, to make an euen front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: Besides, this orme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphalange Antistomus, by sleeuing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such sleeuing, the file-leaders of both Phalanges shall be in the middest.

*Words of direction in the Heterostomus.*

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

*Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone  
to encounter it.*

CHAP. XLIII.

(1)  He battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first inuented by Ileon the Thessalian, and was called Ile after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed his Thessalians. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on euery corner: in the front the Captaine, in the reare the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) Menoides or Cressent; hauing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the middest to enuiron and wrap in the horse-men in their giuing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the Tarantines, seeking thereby to dissolue and disorder their circled frame of march. Tarentum is a City in Italy, the horse-men wherof are called Acrobolists, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

Darters.

NOTES.

**I**<sup>r</sup> *The battaile in forme of a Rhombe.*] Of the Rhombe is sufficiently spoken in Chap. 6. before; and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the diuers kinds thereof are there set down. The Thessalians

*The Tatticks of Aelian, or*

fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. The vse of this forme is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double sided battaile, whereof Aelian spake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the sleeuing vp the latter to the former. and ioyning reare to reate: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make alte when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to sleeue vp by the reare of it, to make an euen front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: Felides, this orme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphallange Antitonus, by sleeuing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such sleeuing, the file-leaders of both Phalanges shall be in the midst.

*Words of direction in the Heterostomus.*

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

*Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone to encounter it.*

CHAP. XLIII.

(1) **T**he battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first inuented by Ileon the Thessalian, and was called *ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed his Thessalians. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on euery corner: in the front the Capitaine, in the reare the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) Menoides or Creffent; hauing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the midst to enuiron and wrap in the horse-men in their giuing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the Tarantines, seeking thereby to dissolue and disorder their circled frame of march. Tarentum is a City in Italy, the horse-men whereof are called Acrobolits, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

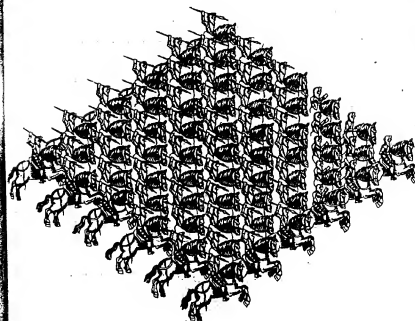
NOTES.

**T**he battaile in forme of a Rombe. Of the Rombe is sufficiently spoken in Chap. 6. before; and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the diuers kinds thereof are there set down. The Thessalians

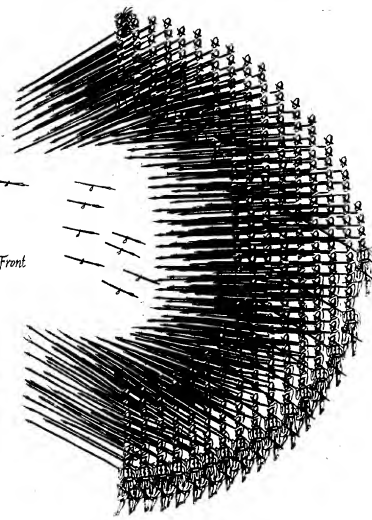
Cap. 44

*The half Moone or Menoides of foot*

*The Rombe of Horse*



The Front



lians vsed not all those kinds but onely that which flieth, but ranks not, as *Alian* testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described: It was accounted a forme of great violence, & in that forme the Theſſalians got all there reputation, being esteemed the best horse-men of Greece. Alian c. 46.

2 The foot battaile fittest to encounter this] The advantage that horse-men haue against foot is great, which is the cause that foot-men haue fought to help themselves by diuers kind of embattailing to the end to supply by art, that which they want by force and strength. Of which manner of embattailings, many are set down in *Alian*. If more then one troope charge at once, you haue the Phalange *Amphistomus*; *Antistomus*, and the *Plinthium* to resist: If but one troope, the *Diphlange* *Antistomus*; All which kinds are before described by *Alian*. In this Chapter is another kind described namely, the *halse moone*. and there follow in other Chapters the *plagiophalange*, the *Epicampius* *emprosthia*, and the *wedge*: Of all which we are to discourse in order as they are remembered by our Authours.

3 Is the *Menocids* or *Cressant*.] Against the Rhombe of horse *Alian* opposeth the *Menocids* of foot, a name of battaile borrowed from the shape of the moone. For *men* is the moone, and the word *idior* (which is ioyned to make vp the composition) signifieth a full shape or forme. So the word importeth a shape or forme of the moon: and yet this battaile is not like all shapes of the moone, but like to the new moone when she hath two hornes, and hath the shape of halse a circle as it were; In which sence *Isis* the Egyptian goddesse (which indeed was the moone, saith *Diodorus Siculus*) was pictured with two hornes from the shew which she maketh being *menocides*, that is, the new moone, so is a wall sometime called, because of the hollow forme. As when the Rhodians hauing their wall shrewdly shaken by the engines of battery of *Demetrius*, reared an inward wall in shape of a Cressant, which with the compasse, comprehended all the parts of the outward wal which were battered. The same *Diodorus* calleth it *Menocides*: the like was don by the *Halicarnasseans* against *Alexander* the Great, and *Arrian* giueth it the name *Menocids*; a brick halse moon; the cause of the inuention of this forme, is laide out by *Onofander* & *Leo*. *Ofentimes* saith *Onofander*, those that haue great numbers of men in the field, are wont to figure them into a Cressant, supposing that in charging the enemy will be ready to ioyne man to man, that is, to enter into the semi-circle and fight with them that stand embowed; in doing whereof, they will be benewed and wrapped in, in the halse Circle. the wings of the halse Circle being to bee drawne together round about them, and the whole brought into the forme of a Circle. And *Leo* likewise: The figure bearing the resemblance of halse a Circle, seemeth to be safe & firme for it incloseth the enemy that cometh against it in the hollow-esse of the Circle by drawing out the wings into a Circle on both sides and giueth a ore courage to fight against them. The causes then to take vp this figure in fight are three; one the advantage of multitude of forces in the field, whereby the Generall is enabled to encompass the ignorance of the enemy, that ventureth within the compasse of the halse moone; the third, the easie of the figure which serueth to entrap the enemy that is not heedfull and wary in ioyning battaile. It hath bene vsed both against Horse and foot, and sometimes in Sea by one Navy against another, *Alian* esteemeth it good against horse; no doubt when horse charge; and are resisted both in front, and plyed also with flying weapons in flanke, they finde a greater, b Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 9.  
b Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 9.  
p. 78.  
Art. 1. 12. c.  
c Onofander. 11.  
p. 65.  
d. 10. 19. 45.  
e c. 24. 184.

opposition and disadvantage, then when they are received in front alone. In square battailes of foot the front lying euen, the horse in charging abide only the danger before, whereas in the hollow fronted battailes of foot, such as are this forme, and the Epicampios emprosthia, they are endangered also in flanke, yea in both flanks, & cannot enter the hollownesse of the front without losse of many of their horse, the depth of the hollownes being as strong (in hauing the file-leaders in front, and the depth of the file the same) as a square battaile to resist, and the wings plying and infesting them with all sorts of flying weapons: against foot it hath bene vsed oftentimes, and it is the only forme that the Turks by reason of his multitudes, vseth both with horse and foot against Christians at this day.

The Crestant may be framed not onely before fight is begun, but also in the heat of fight: Before the fight, you haue an example of the Lacedemonians against *Epaminondas*, which I haue cited at large in my notes vpon the 30 Chap. <sup>2</sup> Leo also fetch downe the manner of casting a Nauy into a Crestant before fight. During the fight, *Aratus* the elder framed a Crestant against the Lacedemonians: *Pausanias* reciteth it in this manner; In the battaile of the Lacedemonians against the Mantineans, The Mantineans, saith hee, had the right wing, all the rest of the Arcadians the left. The middlest was assigned to *Aratus*, and to the Sicyonians, and Achæans. *Agis* King of Lacedemon, and the Lacedemonians stretched out their battaile to invade the front of the enemy. *Agis* and his troopes stood in the middlest. *Aratus* after he had imparted his purpose to the Arcadians: fled himselfe, and with him that part of the army which he commanded, as if he feared the impression of the Lacedemonians; in giuing backe hee brought the army into the forme of an halfe moone. The Lacedemonians and *Agis* thinking they had the victory in their hands, pursued *Aratus* and his troopes more eagerly. The wing followed the King, esteeming it no small conquest to haue soyled *Aratus*. In the meane time they perceiued not the Arcadians that were at their backe: and the Lacedemonians being encompassed round about, lost both many other of their army, and *Agis* also their King, the sonne of *Eurymidas* was slaine. Leo also in sea-fight giueth his Generall counsell how to entrap his enemy with a shew of flight; in giuing backe with fashioning an halfe moone: These be his words in effect; <sup>2</sup> If a Generall be to retire before the enemies Nauy, let him retire, fashioning his Nauy into a battaile *Menoïdes*, and sailing with his poupes forward, and so seeme to flumme the enemy: For if he flye not, but retire fighting, hee shall haue his ships ready to turne vpon the enemy with their prowes bent against him. And if need require, he may retire with his poupes toward the enemy: for the enemy shall not dare to enter into the hollownesse for feare of being encompassed. So Leo. The *Menoïdes* therefore may be framed during fight; but this caution is to be remembered, that in sudden transmutations of battailes, you vse not the service of raw souldiers, but of such as haue experience, lest all be brought into confusion; and the enemy charge you while you are changing your forme. Now as formes of aduantage are to be fought against the enemy; so is it needfull to aduise what best opposition is to be made against such battailes; in case the enemy vse them. The Rombe of horse was of old time accounted a forcible figure against foot; the horse therein had the better. The *Menoïdes* was inuented to resist and ouerthrow the horse: The foot had bene the better; what was then best for the horse? to abstaine from charging (saith *Ælian*) and to ply the foot with misliue weapons, to the end to force them to breake their

their strong forme of embattailing. So now they stand vpon equal tearmes and the foot can with their shot annoy the horse, as well as the horse can annoy the foot. *Ælian* then sheweth a meanes for the horse to auoide the danger of this manner of embattailing: for foot vsing this forme against foot, hee sheweth no remedy. I will set downe what I finde: and here I neede not to repeat the remedy, that *Epaminondas* vsed against the Lacedemonian halfe-moone: it is related at large in my Notes vpon the 30 Chap. <sup>2</sup> *Onofander* giueth this aduise: *Diuide your battaile, saith hee, into 3 parts: with the two outmost charge the Enemies wings: the third; that is ordered against the middle, and as it were, the bosome of the Crestant, aduance it not, but let it stand firme; for either they that are placed in the middlest of the Crestant, shall stand idle; or else aduancing in an euen front, will throng one another and breake their battaile. For the two front fighting in the wings and keeping their place, it is not possible for the halfe circle to come so forward with an euen front: when they are therefore confused and haue broken their array, let the third battaile that remained in the middlest for seconds, charge them, as they disorder, aduance. If they still keep their place in the bottom of the hollownesse, oppose the light armed and darters against them, who will exceedingly distresse them with their misliue weapons: likewise you may doe well to frame a Loxe-phalange of your whole Army, and with your two Loxes, charge the wings, preventing so the circling and encompassing of the *Menoïdes*. For the Enemy, being a long while hindered from coming to blowes with his whole Army, shall be kept in play with a few, none fighting but those onely that are in the wings, which first of necessity must ioyne, because of the oblique onser. It will not bee a misse also, surely to retire with the Army sometimes, as though you were in feare; or else facing about to make your retreat orderly, as if you fled; and afterward turning suddenly to meete the Enemy that presseth vpon you. For sometimes the Enemy being enuoyed in the imagination of a true fight, doth follow vnhadvisedly, and make a disorderly pursuit; euery man pressing to be foremost, vpon whom you may retorne without danger, and againe chase them that follow you; who will be struck with a feare in that you dare contrary to their expectation, turne againe & make head against them. *Onofander* giueth here three wayes to resist the *Menoïdes*: one by diuiding your battaile into a Triphalange, & opposing two phalanges against the two wings of the Crestant, forbearing and standing firme with the third till opportunity be to moue (which is the battaile that *Ælian* opposeth against the *Cælenbolos*.) The second by vsing the Loxe-phalange against it, as did *Epaminondas* at the battaile of *Leustira* against the Lacedemonian halfe moone, as I haue shewed elswhere, namely Chap. 30. §. 7. The third in making semblance of flying; for the halfe moone is a forme, which in standing may well be kept whole, in mouing will soone be broken and fall into disorder, as *Cicero* an Italian writer noteth very well. If then you faile to flye, keeping your men in order, the *Menoïdes* following you will breake off itselfe: and so you haue good opportunity to retorne, and in all likelihood to win the day against it, especially being in disorder. *Leo* giueth the same aduise to his Generall, onely he speaketh of Sea matters, *Onofander* of Land seruice.*

Words of direction for the *Rhombe*.

For the forming of the *Rhombe*, see the 19 Chapter, and my Notes vpon that Chapter, §. 6.

For

b. Diad. 57c. 1.  
15. 486.  
c. Onofand. cap.  
66. Leo. cap. 20.  
§. 124.

2. Leo. 19. §. 41.

d. Pausanias in  
Arcad. lib. 471.

2. Leo. 20. §. 101.

a. Cicero de la  
d. discipl. militaro  
l. 2. 220.

a. Leo. cap. 20.  
§. 191.

# The Tactics of Aelian, or

For the Cressant.

First order your body into a long square, Plagiophalanx.

- 1 The 2 file-leaders in the midst of the square, stand.
- 2 The next 2 on either hand, mouue forward one foot before the other two, their files mouing withall, and holding their distance.
- 3 So the 4 next file-leaders each before other, on either side a foot.
- 4 Then two more on either side, aduance before the rest that mouued two foot a peece.
- 5 Then the 2 next on either side, 3 foot apeece.

To restore to the first Posture:

Face about. Moue all at once (excepting the 2 middle files) and take your first ground.

Of the Horse-battaile Heteromekes, and the Plagiophalange to bee opposed against it.

## CHAP. XLV.

THE horse-battaile Heteromekes is that, which hath the depth double to the length. It is profitable in many respects. (1) For seeming to bee but a few in so small a breadth, it deceiueth the Enemie, and easily breaketh his forces with the thickeesse & strength of the embattailing, and may without perceiuing be led through streight and narrow passages. The (2) foot battaile to encounter is called the Plagiophalange, or broad fronted battaile. For being but slender in depth, it beareth forth and extendeth it selfe in length, so that albeit it be broken in the midst with the charge of Horse, yet is nothing broken but a little of the depth, and the fury of the Horse is carried not vpon the multitude of foot, but streight and immediatly into the open aire and field. And for that cause is the length thereof much exceeding the depth.

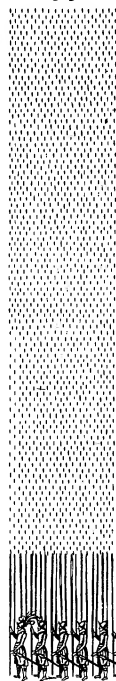
## NOTES.

OF the 2. battailes Heteromekes and Plagiophalanx I haue spoken before in my notes vpon the thirtieth Chapter. The Heteromekes is a kinde of Horse, the Plagiophalange the broad fronted battaile therein mentioned.

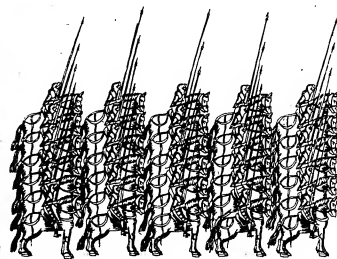
2 For seeming to be but a few.] Amongst all the stratagems vsed in Warre, it hath bene accounted alwayes a master piece of skill to deceiue the Enemie with shew of forces, that are in any Army: sometime with semblance of more men, then wee haue, to feare him, sometime with concealing our number, to prouoke him rashly to fight, and aduenture himselfe in battaile. Of these two kinde we haue an example in Caesar at the siege of Geragonia.

Cap 45

Plagiophalanx, or y<sup>e</sup> broad fronted battaile of foote



Heteromekes or y<sup>e</sup> Horse of Horse



The front

Gergouia. Caesar himselfe writeth thus: When Caesar came into his lesser Campe <sup>Cesar de lell. gall. 1</sup> (hee had two Camps at that siege) to take view of his workes, he perceived that the <sup>7763. A. vol. 1.</sup> hill, which was holden by the Enemie, was become emptie of men, which hill a few dayes past, could hardly be scene for the multitude, that covered it. Maruelling thereat, he asked of the run awyes the cause (of whom great numbers came flocking to him every day :) It appeared by all their reports, which Caesar also understood by his owne Scouts, that the ridge of the hill was almost euen, but yet wooddy and narrow, by which there was access to the other part of the towne. That the Enemie mightily feared that place; and were now of opinion, that seeing the Romans had gained one hill, if they should lose the other, they should see we well nigh enclosed round about with a trench, and shut up from issuing out, and from forrage; that all were called out of the Citie by a Vercinotorix to fortifie the place. Caesar hauing <sup>a The French G. 1</sup> gotten this intelligence, sent at midnight aues troopes of horse thither, and comman- <sup>mentall.</sup> ded them to rid up and downe in all places with greater tumult, then their manner was. As soone as it was day, hee willed a great number of carriage-horse and Mules to be brought out of the Campe, and their pads to be taken off from them, and that the Muleters putting on head-pieces, should rise about the hills in shew, as if they were horse-men. To these he added a few Horse, who were to spread themselves abroad here and there, to amaze the Gaules the more. Hee willed them to adtreffe themselves, and to draw to one and the same place, fetching a large compassse about. These things were scene a farre of out of Gergouia (for from thence the Campe might well be discerned) and yet in such distance it could not bee certainly perceived, what the matter was. He sent a legion along the ridge of the same hill, and placed it (drawing it a little further forward) in the nether ground below, and hid it in the woods. The Gaules here <sup>A people in Nere- ban.</sup> at increase their suspicion, and all the forces appointed for the fortifications of their Campe were led thither. Caesar espying the Campe of the Enemie to be void of men, conueed Souldiours stragling, as it were, and not in troopes, from the greater Campe vnto the lesser, hiding those things by which they might be knowne, and conueying their ensignes of Warre, lest happily they might be discied out of the Towne; and gaue instructions to the Legats, whom he had set ouer every Legion, what he would haue done. After these directions hee gaue the signall: the Souldiours after the signall giuen, with all speed fell vpon the Munitiō, and entring, made themselves masters of three Camps of the Enemie. And the speed of their surprise was such, that Theutomarus King of the Nitobrigians, being suddenly surprisid in his Tent, as he rested about noone, the upper part of his body being naked, had much adoe to saue himselfe vpon his horse (which was also wounded in escaping) from the hands of the rising Souldiours. This example of Caesar containeth the two kinds before remembred of deceiuing the Enemie. For hee both made a greater shew of horse-men, then hee had, by setting Muleters on horse-backe, and giuing them head-pieces, and also dissembled the number of them, who were in the lesser Campe, which gaue vpon the Enemies workes, by conueying Souldiours out of the greater Campe piece meale, as it were, and one after another. The Enemie's policy yeilded victory to Caesar against the Gaules before: as you may see in the fift booke of his Commentaries. And in this very kinde, that Elian speaketh of, that is, in making his front narrow and his battaile deepe, and so disssembling his forces, Cleandridas the Lacedemonian wonne a noble battaile against the Thurians, as I haue noted in the nine and twentieth Chapter of this booke. Examples of the manner of these flights are euery where to be found in Histories.


Caesar de bel. gall. 1. p. 748. B.

# The Tacticks of Aelian, or

3 The best battaile to encounter it.] Diuers kinde of battailes are fitter (as I conceiue) to bee opposed against this horſe-battaile, then the Plagiophalange. And, I take it, it is not therefore here ſet downe as the beſt forme to encounter, and repulſe the horſe, but rather to ſhew, that, it you bee not otherwiſe able to auoide them, you may in this forme ſuſtaine the leſſer loſſe. For ſo much importes the reaſon of Aelian viz. that, if you be broken in the middeſt by the horſe, yet is nothing broken, but a little of the depth, and the fury of the horſe is carried into the open field, & not vpon the reſt of the foot. If your foot battaile were flanked with a riuer, wood, trench, wall, or ſome ſuch other ſtrength, I would the well hold with this reaſon. For then might the foot open (as in the Diſmalange Antitimus) and ſuffer the horſe to paſſe through, and to fall into the riuer, or vpon that ſtrength, which you were flanked with all. But when the horſe breake through your foot, and paſſe into the open field, they haue advantage to turne againe vpon your backe, and freedom of many charges, as they liſt to giue vpon you. The Plinthium, the halfe moone, the Epicampios, or hollow-fronted battaile deſcribed in the next following Chapter, and the wedge of foot, are to be preferred before the Plagiophalange. For all theſe kinde are invented to repulſe horſe, in what forme ſoeuer they giue on, and ſome of them, in caſe the horſe be forward in charging, to ouerthrow and diſcomfit them. Of ſome of theſe we haue ſpoken before, other ſome follow to be treated of. The Heteromakes horſe battaile, is not in our dayes much vſed, except it be in marching. The great Commanders of our time, rather in fight order their horſe into a Plagiophalange, which forme they hold more fit for the vſe of the weapons of our age. But the Plagiophalange of foot remembred by Aelian to encounter horſe, ought to be very ſhallow in depth. For if it ſhould be according to the old faſhion, 16. in depth (which number the ſie of the Macedonian's held) or according to our cuſtome 10. I ſee not how it is poſſible for a troope of horſe to breake it, or to paſſe through it into the open field, the depth of the battaile being ſufficient to ſuſtaine the charge of any horſe. How the Heteromakes, and how the Plagiophalange are framed, I haue taught before in the thirtieth Chapter.

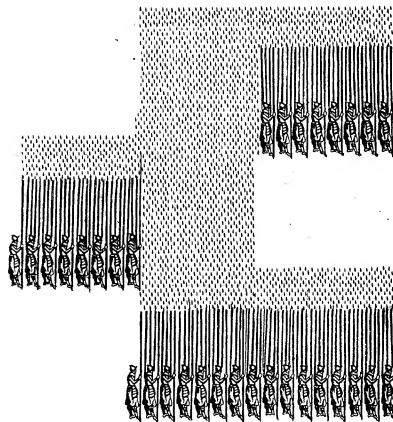
Of another kinde of Rhombe for horſe-men, and of the foot-battaile called Epicampios Emproſthia to encounter it.

## CHAP. XLVI.

(1)  Nother ſort of Rhombocides there is, whereof I neede ſay no more, but that it ſleeth, and ranketh not. I haue before ſhewed the vſe thereof, and that Leon the Theſſalian was the inuenter, and that Iſan Medas husband put it in practice: the vſe thereof is great, it being directed and led in the foure ſides by the Captaine, the Lieutenant, and the two flanke-commanders. It is commonly faſhioned of Archers on horſe-backe, as the Armenian, and Perſian manner is.

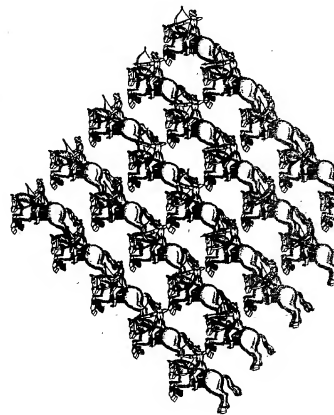
Againſt it is opposed the foot-battaile, called (2) Epicampios Emproſthia,

Epicampios Emproſthia



Cap. 46.

The Rhombe



The front

thia, the hollow fronted battaile because the circumduction of the front is like an embowing. The end of this forme is to deceiue and ouer-reach the Archers on horse-backe, e ther by wrapping them in the void space of the front, as they charge, and giue on vpon the spure, or elsedistordering them first with the winges, and breaking their fury, by overthrowing them finally with their ranks about the middle Ensignes. This kinde of battaile was deuised to entrappe and beguile. For opening the middle hollownesse, it maketh shew but of a few, that march in the winges, hauing notwithstanding thrice as many following and seconding in the reare. So that, if the wings bee of power sufficient for the encounter, there needeth no more: if not, retiring easily on either side, they are to ioyne themselves to the bulke of the battaile.

## NOTES.

(1) *A* *Nother sort of Rhomboides there is.*] The inscription of this Chapter seemeth not to bee right; because the forme of the Rhomboides here mentioned, differeth not, but is the same, that was last spoken of. In the <sup>a</sup> former hee said it was invented by *Ileon* the Thessalian, and in use amongst the Thessalians, and called *Ile* of his name. In this he saith as much, adding onely that *Iason*, *Medea's* husband, who was also a Thessalian, put it most in practise. So that the Rhombes seeme to be all one; and the inscription of the Chapter either corrupted or mistaken; and that it ought to bee of the Rhombé and the hollow-fronted battaile to encounter it. I need say no more of this Rhombe, the forme of it, the manner of framing, and the difference of it from other Rhombes are sufficiently declared in other places before.

(2) *Against it is opposed the Epicampios Emprosthia.*] About the forme of this battaile there is also some difference amongst the learned. *Casaubon* in his translation of *Polybius* translateth <sup>b</sup> *Epicampios* in Greeke by the Latin word *Forceps*. Of whose opinion <sup>c</sup> *Iustus Lipsius* seemeth to be. If I dissent from so great learned men vpon good reason and authoritie, I hope, I shall not incur the opinion of arrogancy, when I haue spoken, what I thinke, let the Reader iudge, as hee please: I preiudicate no mans opinion. For the *for-* *ceps* (tonges) or *Forfex* (sheeres) which <sup>d</sup> *Lipsius*, and *Casaubon* hold to be all one with the *Epicampios*, <sup>e</sup> *Vegetius* resembleth them to the letter V. His words are these: *Against it (that is against the wedge) the forme of battaile is opposed, which they call Forfex. For this is a kinde of battaile framed of the choicest Souldiers to the likeness of the letter V. and it receiveth and sheweth within it the wedge.* *Vegetius* saith, the *Forfex* or *Forceps* is like the letter V. Of this forme is the *Cælembolos* in *Ælian*; and resembled to the same letter in expressse tearmes; as you may see in his thirtié sixe Chapter. So that hauing the same forme, it must be the same battaile, howsoeuer they differ in the Greeke and Latin names. This being so, and seeing *Ælian* in this Chapter describeth the *Epicampios* by it selfe, and in another Chapter the *Cælembolos* by it selfe giuing a different forme to them both, there is no probability to thinke they should be one. Now besides the forme here set downe by *Ælian*, (which is to bee marked, as it is described,) the description of *Xenophon* shewes the forme of the *Epicampios Emprosthia*, out of whose words a man may easily discerné, that the *Cælembolos* and it are not all one.



one. For he resembleth it to two [put together, that is one Gamma on one side, another Gamma on the other. But therefore two Gammas together in this sort [ ] and you haue the perfect forme of the Epicampios Emprosthia. The passage is worth the recitall, although it be somewhat long. For it both containeth the forme of the battaile, and the manner of opposition against it. Thus then he writeth concerning the field fought betwixt *Cyrus* the elder, and *Craesus*: *When both the Armies were in sight one of another, and Craesus being farre superior in number, resolved to ouer-front Cyrus his battaile, ordering his owne Phalange in an embowed forme (for otherwise there is no way to ouer-front and encompass) he framed it on each side like the letter Γ to the end that all his forces might fight at once together. Cyrus seeing this, continued neuerthelesse his march, and held on with the same pace he had done before; and marking how the Enemy had made the inflexion on both sides before, and extended their wings; doe you perceive, said he to Chrysanthas, where they haue made their inflexion? Yes, said Chrysanthas, and I maruaile at it. For, me thinks, they draw their wings to farre forward from the front of their owne Phalange. True, said Cyrus, and from our Phalange too. But why doe they so? because they feare, lest the wings being next to vs and their Phalange yet farre off, we should gine vpon the wings. But how, said Chrysanthas, can they in so great distance second one another? It is evident, said Cyrus, that when their wings shall come vp, and be right against our flanks, they will turne faces and Phalange wise come against vs on all sides, and fight with vs euery way.*

Thus *Xenophon* of the forme and vse of this battaile; the forme being like two Gammas [ ], on either side closed, the vse to encompass the aduerse battaile, and to fall vpon it on all sides. And yet the forme and practise of the forme together with the manner to oppose against, will more plainly appear in the following words: *Craesus*, saith *Xenophon*, thinking that the Phalange (viz. the middest of the battaile) with which himselfe marched, was nearer to the Enemy, then the wings, which were stretched forth in length, gave a signal to the wings, not to proceede further, but to face to the Enemy in the ground, where they stood; when they had all turned their countenances toward the Army of *Cyrus*, he gave them another signe to goe and charge the Enemy. So that three Phalanges set themselves against *Cyrus* Army; the first against the front, the other two, one against the right-flanke, the other against the left: So that the whole Army of *Cyrus* were put into a great feare. For as a small Plinthium comprehended in a great one, so was the Army of *Cyrus* being enuironed euery where with the Enemies horse, and armed foot, and Targetiers, and Archers, and Chariots, sauing onely in the reare. Notwithstanding as soon as *Cyrus* commanded, they turned their faces against the Enemies: The silence on both sides was great for dread of that, which was expected. But when *Cyrus* thought meete, he began the Pean, and all his Army answered him. After this they shouted altogether, and *Cyrus* putting spurres to his horse, with his horsemen gave vpon the Enemies flanke, and with all speed came to hands. The foot presently following in good order wrapped in the Enemy here and there, and had a great deale the better; For they charged the wing in a Phalange, so that the Enemy was forthwith put in flight: hitherto *Xenophon*. In which latter words we may see the forme of the Epicampios more fully exprest. For first hee sheweth that wings of the Phalange of *Craesus* were aduanced a good way before the front of the Phalange it selfe. Then that the front of these wings aduanced, came vp as far as the reare of *Cyrus* his Phalange. Thirdly, that they marched

*Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 7. 173. A.*

*α τὴν ἐμπροσθίαν  
τοῦ ἐπικαμπίου  
ἐστὶν ἡ φάλαγξ  
ἡ δὲ τὴν ἐμπροσθίαν*

*Xenoph. Cyrop.  
l. 7. 179. A.*

*ἡ δὲ τὴν ἐμπροσθίαν  
τοῦ ἐπικαμπίου*

vp in a right line. For *Xenophon* resembleth *Cyrus* his battaile to a little Plinthium, the battaile of *Craesus* to a great Plinthium, so that both battailes must be square & figured on all sides in right lines, as we haue in the 42 Chap. Fourthly, that the front of the Epicampios must be hollow to receiue and claspe in, as it were, the aduerse battaile: the two gammæ (whereof *Xenophon* spake before) ioyned together in the vpper part being a true resemblance of the front of this battell. The manner of the opposition against it is likewise described by *Xenophon*. First *Cyrus* staid till the wings of the Epicampios were come vp euen, and turned their faces against his flanks. Then when they were come vp, commanded he his flanks to face toward them to receiue the charge. When the fight was begunne, *Cyrus* from the reare with reserves of horse and foot gaue vpon the flanks of the wings of the Epicampios (for in the fight, by reason of turning of their faces towards the flanks of *Cyrus* his Phalange, their flanks were towards *Cyrus* his reare) and so charging them in flanke and front they were easily defeated. To returne then to the comparison of the Forces and the Epicampios, by this example out of *Xenophon* the difference betwixt them may easily appear:

the Epicampios making 2 angles in the bottom of the hollow front, the force; but one, & the angle in the force is acute, the 2 angles in the Epicampios both right angles, & the figures differ as much one from another, as the two gammæ ioyned together differ from the letter V. *Ælian* in this Chapter sheweth no other vse of the Epicampios, but against horse; but the vse is no lesse against foot, as the former example teacheth, & many other, which are to be found partly in History, partly are mentioned in my notes vpon this booke. A notable experience of this forme you may see noted vpon the 28 Chapter of this Booke, in the fight betwixt *Scipio* and *Asterball*; another in the battaile of *Miltiades* at Marathon, against the Persians: likewise in the battaile of *Narjes* against the Franks, of which I shall haue occasion to speak hereafter. For the framing of this battaile the words of direction may be these: First, make a broad fronted Phalange. Then

- 1 Advance your right and left wings, and let the middest of the battaile stand firme. Vnder the name of the wings, I vnderstand so many files as shall be thought enough to march out to make the hollow front: the bringers vp of wings must ranke with the file-leaders of the middest.
- 2 Face and charge into the hollownesse of the front.

To reſtore to the first Poſture.

- 1 Wings, face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 March and ioine with the body in an euen front.
- 3 Face as you were first.

There is added by some translators of *Ælian* an Epicampios opisthia to the Epicampios emprosthia. This battaile they would haue to be signified in their words, *This kind of battaile was devised to entrap and beguile*. But hee that shall weigh the words following, shall see that *Ælian*'s meaning is to describe the Emprosthia more fully, euen in the selfe same place. For he spea-



Epicampios.

Forſex.



*Amigmo used  
this form against  
summes of horse,  
Strab. l. 16. 666.*

kech of the few that march in the wings, and of thrice as many that follow in the reare. Besides, he saith, that if the wings be not sufficient to repulse the enemy, they may retire and ioyne to the bulke of the body. The wings are therefore led on first, and the masse of the body followeth, whereas in the Epicampios opisthia the wings are stretched out behinde, and follow the body. And albeit there be in Ælian no words of the Opisthia, yet I may not deny that there is an Epicampior Opisthia: <sup>a</sup> Suidas proueth it plainely; He defineth the *Επικαμπιος* *ὀπισθια*, thus: It is called *επικαμπιος* when the battaile aduanceth against the enemy, and hath the wings drawne out in length on both sides behind. The vse of the Opisthia is as it seemeth, to auoid the encircling or encompassing of an enemy, that hath a greater quantity of souldiers then we, and meanes to charge our reare. Alexander the Great, being farre inferior to Darius in multitude of men, vse<sup>d</sup> this forme at Arbela. <sup>b</sup> Diodorus Siculus saith, that after he had ordered his battaile against Darius in a right front, hee framed an Epicampios behind each wing, to the end that the enemy with his multitude might not encompasse the small number of the Macedomans. And this may suffice for both the formes of the Epicampios.

<sup>a</sup> Suidas in *Epicampios*.

<sup>b</sup> Diod. Sic. l. 17.  
592. Arr. c. 3. 60.  
C. 3.

*Words of direction for the Epicampios  
Opisthia.*


- 1 Aduance your body, and let the wings stand firme.
- 2 The wings of one flanke face outward to the right, the other to the left hand.

*To rustore, &c.*

- 1 Wings face as you were.
- 2 March vp, and front with the middest of the body.

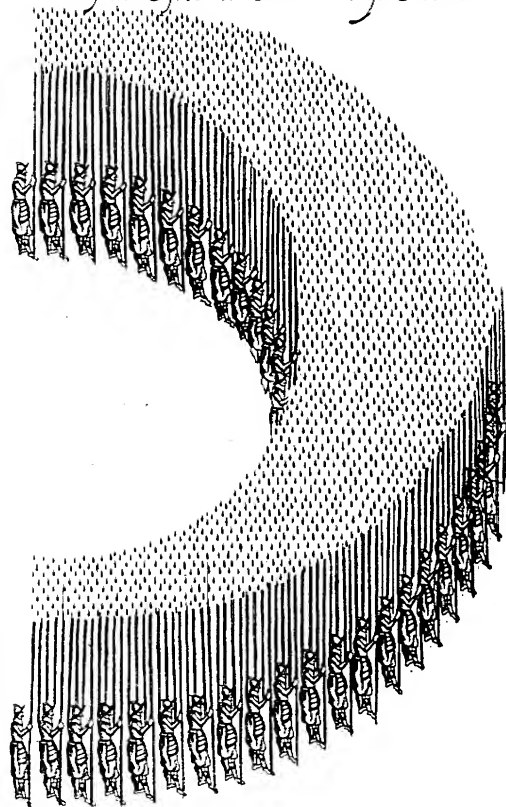
*Of the foot-battaile called Cyrte, which is to be set against  
the Epicampios.*

CHAP. XLVII.

- (1)  HE Battaile to be opposed against the Epicampios is called Cyrte of the circumferent forme. This also maketh semblance of small forces, by reason of the conuexity of the figure. For all round things seeme little in compasse, and yet stretched out in length, and singled, they proue twice as much as they appeared to be. As is euident in Pillars which are round, and therefore in fight shew the one halfe, and conceal the other. The greatest piece of skill in embattailing, is to make shew of few men to the enemy, and in deed to bring twice as many to fight.

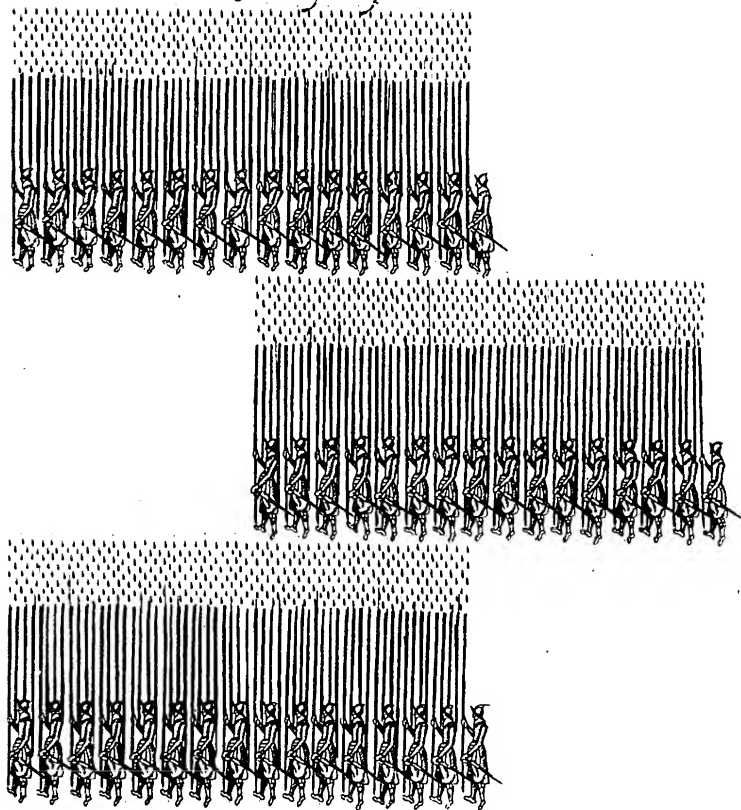
*The Cytle or convex half Moone*

*Cap. 47.*



*The front*

*The Epucampios*



# the Art of Embattailing Armies.

65

## NOTES.

**T**HE forme of this battaile, albeit it be a halfe Moone, and is called by *Polybius* Menocides, yet is it in a manner contrary to the Menocides described in the 44 Chapter of this Booke. That turned the concavity or hollownesse backward toward the reare, and the two hornes against the enemy, and fought to encompassse, this turneth the conuexe or outward part foremost, not the hornes, and endeavoureth to avoide encompassing: For the *Epicampios*, if a man should enter into the hollownesse thereof, claspeth him in, and is able to charge him in front, and on both flanks at one time. But the conuexe halfe Moone avoiding that danger, meeteth the enemy with the bearing out of the halfe circle, and giueth the two wings of the *Epicampios* enough to doe, being not to be annoyed with the depth of the hollownesse, which remaineth a pretty distance more backward then the points of the wings. So that this forme is fit to be opposed against the *Epicampios*, and looser in no aduantage of embattailing: and it avoide the perill of the hollow front by not entring, and yet maintaineth the fight against the two wings that are thrust out to encompassse; being of sufficient strength to encounter the *Epicampios*, either of them not dissolving their forme, or notwithstanding that the wings of the *Epicampios* retire, as *Aelian* prescribeth, when they are overpressed, or else the body of the hollownesse aduance to make an equall front with the wings, and so vnite their force. Howbeit I haue not read in the Greeke history examples of this forme set against the *Epicampios*, or vsed otherwise in fight; onely I finde in *Polybius* at the battaile of Cannahar *Hannibal* practised it against the Romans, not trusting to the strength of the forme, but rather with the shew thereof, couering a further drift, to beguile and bring them into his snare. His words are in effect these: *Hannibal*, saith he, embattailed his army thus; He placed on the left hand the Spanish and Celtish horse right ouer against the Roman horse: next to them of foot halfe the Lybian heavy armed; then the Spaniards and Celts, next them the other halfe of the Lybians. On the right wing he ordered the Numidian horse: After he had framed an euen front of the whole Army, he aduanced the middle Spaniards and Gauls, and cast them into a conuexe halfe Moone, gathering up the depth therewith and making it thin, meaning to hide the Lybians with it, and disposing the Lybians behinde them as seconds. And a little after he declareth the manner of fight. Then the heavy-armed foot succeeding the light-armed, encountred together. The Spaniards therefore and Gauls a while brauely maintained their order and fight against the Romans; but being over-pressed, they turned their backs, and retired, dissolving the forme of their halfe Moone. The Roman Cohorts courageously following easily broke asunder the battaile of the Celts, which at first was ordered in a small depth; themselves transferring the thicknesse of their battaile from the wings of the middest, where the fight was; for the middest and the wings fought not at the same time. The middest began the fight first, because the Celts ranged in a halfe Moone, bore much more forward then the wings, hauing not the hollownes but the prominent swelling of the halfe Moone lying out toward the enemy. So the Romans following & running together to the middest, where the enemy gaue ground, entered so far into the enemies battaile, that they had the heavy-armed Lybians on either of their flanks; of whom those of the right wing facing to the Target, charged them on the right; those of the left wing facing to the pike, gaue upon their left side, occasion it selfe shewing what was fit to be done: so that it chanced

## The Tatticks of *Ælian*, or


as Anniball had foreseen, that after the defeat of the Celts, the Romans pursuing the victory, should fall out to be enclosed in the midst of the Lybians. So Polibius of the prominent halfe moon or Cyrte, which Anniball vsed; to which of purpose he gaue to make thinnesse, because it should be broken & beaten, and the enemy drawn into the snares as it were, and ambush of the seconds, that is, of the Lybian heauy armed. If it had had the due proportion of depth, it might haue stood a longer time against the efforts of the enemy, and disputed the victory against the broad-fronted phalange; against which if it may be opposed, there is no question but it may be set against the Epicampios, because the broad-fronted phalange hath all her forces vnited together, the Epicampios fighteth onely with her two wings, the middelt of the battaile being farre from ioyning; vnlesse a man be compelled to enter into the hollownesse of the front, in which case both the front and the wings may annoy him.

*Words of direction for the Cyrte or connexe  
halfe Moone.*

- First, order the body into a long square or Plagiophalange.
- 1 Then let the two file-leaders in the middelt of the square march out with their files.
- 2 The next two on either hand moueright forward one foot short of the first, keeping distance in flanke, as before.
- 3 So the next foure, two on each side: the two next one foot short of the last, the other two one foot short of them.
- 4 Then the next foure, two on each side, each two foot short of other.
- 5 Then the foure last, two on each side, each three foot short of the other.

*Of the Tetragonall Horse-battaille, and of the wedge of foot to be  
opposed against it.*

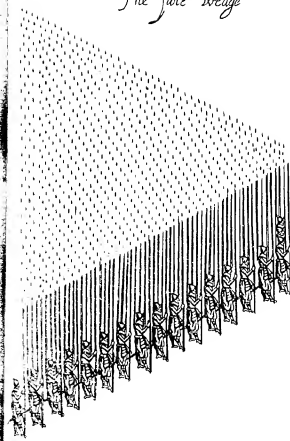
### CHAP. XLVIII.

(1)  He Tetragonall horse-battaille is square in figure, but not in number of men. For in squares the number is not alwaies the same: and the Generall for his aduantage may double the length to the depth. The Persians, Sicilians, and most of the Grecians doe affect this forme, and take it to be easie in framing, and better in vse.

(2) Against it is opposed the Phalange called Embolos, or Wedge of foot, all the side consisting of armed men. This kind is borrowed of the horse-mans wedge. And yet in the wedge of horse one sufficeth to lead in front, where the foot-wedge must haue three, one being vnable to beare the sway of the encounter. (3) So *Epaminondas* the Theban fighting with the Lacedemonians at Mantinea ouerthrew a mighty power of theirs by casting his army into a wedge. (4) It is fashioned when the Antistomus Diphalangy  
in

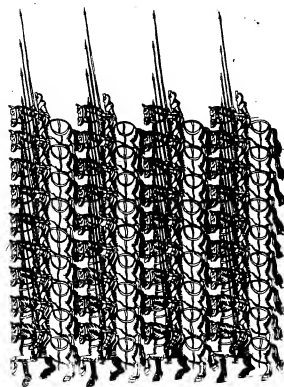
Cap. 48.

*The Gate Wedge*



*The front*

*The Horsebattaille square in figure,  
not in horse*



in marching ioyneth the front of the wings together, holding them behinde like vnto the letter A.

NOTES.

(1) **T**His Chapter containeth the description of two battails, one of horse, the other of foot to be opposed in fight one against another; namely the *square of horse*, and the *wedge of foot*. Of which the tetragonall horse-battail, *square in figure, or ground* (for all is one) is described in my notes vpon the 18. Chapter of *Ælian*, as also the *wedge of horse*, from which this wedge of foot (as *Ælian* saith) is deriued. It will be therefore needlesse to repeat, what is there written about the formes and diuersity of them; or to make comparision of their vse and aduantage. Against the Rhombe of horse, if they come to charge foot, he hath set downe two formes of foot to receiue them; the *Cressant* and the *hollow-fronted* battaile called *Epicampios emprosthia*: which vpon this reason, because they are hollow in front both, and the Rhombe shooteth forth and chargeth in a point, must of necessity by receiuing that point into their hollownesse, and plying it with their weapons on all sides, distresse the Rhombe both in front and flanke, which is a dangerous kinde of fight, and such a one as seildome may be tolerated or endured.

(2) Against the *square horse battaile* in figure or ground, he opposeth in this Chapter, the *wedge of foot*, which albeit it cannot with the like art wrappe in and encompass the square, yet is it of force sufficient to breake and disseuer it, and so to disorder and deface it. For the square of horse hauing a large front and going with full speed to charge, falleth vpon the narrow front of the wedge, which according to *Ælia* ought to conaine no more then three men, and they knitting themselves close, their pikes preceeded and being seconded with the rest of their companions behinde pretending their pikes likewise, receiue the charge with a firme stand, so that onely the middest of the horse falling vpon the point of their front, cannot reach to the flanks of the wings thereof (because the wedge from the first narrowing groweth backward into an increasing breadth) without breaking of their forme, and altering of the front of their square, wherein they were ordered: which if they doe, their repulse cannot but follow, because they fight out of order. Now that the forme of the *wedge* in horse is able to endure the shot of the horse, that came against them in a *square*, appeareth by the 18. Chapter of this booke, where it is laide that *Philip* King of Macedon *Alexanders* father vsed this forme alone, and that *Alexander* himselfe ordered his horse in the same manner, who were both victorious in all their fields. That it is as good for foot against horse, besides the reasons before rehearsed may be euident by this, that the horse are in motion in the charge, and by that meanes are soone disordered, whereas the foot stand fast, and keepe themselves secure to repulse the violence of the horse.

3. So Epaminondas the Theban] This battaile is excellently described by *Xenophon* in his seuenth booke of his history of the Grecians. His words found thus: After Epaminondas had embattailed his army, as he thought fit, he led not straight way against the enemy directly, but declined westward toward the Tegean mountains lying right ouer against the enemy, which bred an opinion, that he had no will to fight that day. For after he came up to the mountain and had ta-

*a Xenoph. Hellen. l. 7. p. 645. D.*

b. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

a. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

a. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
That is, with the  
point of the  
wedge against  
the enemy.

a. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

The first.

ken a view of his army, he caused them to lay downe their armes in the uppermost part of all, as if he meant to incampe; and by this meanes allayed the preparation of fight, which most of the enemies had conceived in minde, and likewise their care in maintaining their place and order in battaile. After securing up to the front, his companies that marched in a wing, he fashioned his whole army into a strong wedge. Then commanding them to take up their armes, he led on, and they followed. The enemy seeing him advance contrary to their expectation, had no leisure to be still, but some ranne to their place in battaile, some embattailed themselves, some bridled their horses, some put on their curaces, all were like men, that were like rather receive, then give a foyle to the enemy. Epaminondas led on his army like a galleie with the prow against the enemy, imagining that where power he should breake their array, he should thereby overthrow their whole army. For he resolved to bring the best and strongest part of his army to fight, casting the weakest behinde in the reare, knowing that being defeated they would discourage their come side, and breake new courage in the enemy. The enemy ranged his horse like a phalange of armed foot in a great death without trying foot with them. But Epaminondas made a strong wedge of his horse also allotting them foot which had no helpe, concerning that cutting asunder the enemies horse, he should easily overthrow their whole army. For you shall hardly find one, that will make good their ground, after they see them of their own side set themselves to their feet. And to the end, to with hold the Athenians from securing those of the left wing next unto them, he placed both horse and foot right over against them upon the hills, so put them in feare of charging their reare, if they gave ayde unto the enemy, so led he on to the charge, and was not deceived of his hopes. For having the better where so ever he gave on, he put the whole army of his adversaries to flight. So Xenophon where you may note not onely a square of horse defeated by a wedge of horse, but also a square battaile of foot defeated by a wedge of foot. And to shew more plainly, that the forme of the wedge is forcible against a broad fronted phalange, I will recite two examples more. The first is out of T. Livius, who writeth of a battaile fought betwixt the Romans and Celtiberians thus. The Celtiberians knowing that the Roman army having spoiled their Country, would retire through a forest called Manlius his forest, hid themselves in it of purpose, to the end to fall upon the Romans upon advantage and unlooked for. When the Roman army had entered the forest by day-light, the enemy rising out his ambush upon the sudden invaded them on both flanks. Which Flaccus (hee was the Roman Generally) sciz'd, stilled the tumult by the Captaines commanding every man to his place, and armies, and bringing the baggage and carriage beasts together, he constantly and without feare embattailed his army partly by himselfe, partly by his Legates and by the Tribunes of the soldiers, at the time and place required. The enemy came on, and the skirmish was attached in the uttermost parts of the Roman phalange, and at last the battaile toyne'd. The fight was hot in all parts, but fortune divv'd: for the Legions behaved themselves bravely, and the auxiliaries in both wings as well. The mercenaries were hardly laid unto by the enemy (who bore the like armes, and was a better kind of souldier) & had much ado to make good their ground. The Celtiberians, when they saw they could not take the legions in the ordinary manner of fight, and Ensigne against Ensigne, cast themselves into a wedge, and so assailed the Romans: in which kind of fight they are so powerfull, that they are scarce to be resisted. Then the legions also branched, and the battaile was almost broken. Which danger when Flaccus perceived, he rode to the legionary horsemen And is there no helpe in you said he? This army will immediately be lost. When they cryed out at all hands,

hands, they would gladly doe what so ever he commanded. Double the troops, said he, of both legions, and with all your might force your horse against this wedge of the enemy, where with they presse us: you shall doe it more violently, if you give on, drawing off the horses bridles, which the Roman horsemen have often done heretofore to their great commendation. They obeyed, and pulling off their horses bridles they passed crept off through the enemies wedge twice with great slaughter, everyone breaking his staffe. The Celtiberians after the breaking and dispersing of their wedge, in which all their hope remained, began to be afraid, and almost quitting the fight, sought where they might best to save themselves. Hitherto Livy. In which passage a man may observe the violence of the wedge, which if it be rightly managed, is of wonderfull power to breake and dispart any square it shall fall upon. The other example or precedent is out of Agathias, where he describeth the battaile betwixt Narces (the Emperour Justinians Lieutenant, and Buclinius General of the French-men. He hath thus. Narces when he came to the place where the fight should be, ordered presently his army into a phalange. The horse were ranged in the wings; himselfe stood in the right wing, and next him Zandalas Captaine of his followers, and with him all his mercenary and household servants, that were not unfit for the warre; upon either side of him was Valerian and Artabanus, who were commanded to hide themselves a while in the thicke of the wood, that was thereby: and when the enemy toyne'd, to fall out suddenly and unlooked for upon them, and to put them into an amazement. The foot had all the space in the middlest, and the file-leaders toyne'd shoulder to shoulder being armed with curaces and other pieces of armour reaching downe to the foot, and with buckles: Behind them were other souldiers ordered even as farre as to the open fields. The light armed and such as used flying weapons were cast in the reare, expecting a signall of employment. The middlest was reserved for the Heruli, and remained empty, because they were not yet come up: Buclinius advanced his battell, and all ran cheerfully against the Romans, not leisurely, and in good order, but rashly and tumultuously, as if with the very cry they would have rent asunder all that stood against them. The forme of their battaile was like a wedges. For it resembled the letter Delta. And the front which shot out in a point, was covered and clof, by reason it was hemmed in with Targets (you would have said they counterfeited a swines head) but both the flanks on each side lying out by files in depth, and stretching backward by a swift, by little and little were parted and sundered one from another, as if bearing out still toward the reare ende. At last in a great distance, so that the ground in the middlest betwixt them was empty, and the backs of the souldiers that were in the wedge, appeared cleane through the files uncovered. For their faces were turned contrariwise one from another, to the end, they might beare them toward the enemy, and save themselves from blowes, by casting their Targets before them, and secure their backe by placing them opposite to the backs of their fellows. All things fell out according to Narces his wish, to whom both a faire opportunity was presented, and who had wisely before contrived what was to be done. For when the Barbarians running on furiously fell upon the Romans with a shout and outcry giving upon the milder; they presently broke the front of those that stood in the void place, (for the Heruli were not yet come up) And the leaders of the point of the wedge cutting asunder all that stood in their way, even to the uttermost depth of the file, and yet making no great slaughter, were carried beyond the bringers up of Narces battaile, and some of them continued their course further, thinking to take in the Roman Campe. Then Narces presently turning about and extending out his wings, and making (as the Tactics name) is an Epicampos emprothia, commanded the archers on horse.

Caput periculi.  
a. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

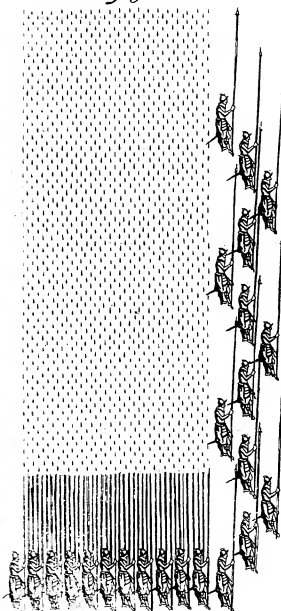
## The Tacticks of *Ælian*, or

horsebacke to send their arrowes by turnes, upon the backs of the enemy, which they easily performed. For being on horsebacke higher then the Barbarian foot, they might at their pleasure strike them, as they advanced forward, being in a great breadth, and nothing to shadow them. Hitherto *Agathias*. It would be long to rehearse the rest of the battaile which he exaggerateth rhetorically. I have recited so much, as both sheweth the strength of the wedge, and withall the manner which was used by *Narces*, to overthrow it. For I find three kinde of wayes which have beene practised to resist and defeat it. One by charging it with horse, before it enter the aduerser battaile, as *Flaccus* did against the Celtiberians. The second to frame the aduerser battaile empty in the midst (filling it with some souldiers notwithstanding for shew) and when hee entrench the space, to plye his reare with shot, and charge it throughly as *Narces* did. The third to oppose against it a hollow wedge (which *Vegetius* calleth forfex) and receiuing and letting in the point of this wedge into the hollownesse of the other to claspe it in, and charge it on all sides. Against the wedge saith *Vegetius*, is opposed the battaile called forfex, a paire of sheeres: For it is framed of the best and valiantest souldiers to the similitude of the letter V. and it receiveth in, and embraceth the wedge, so that it cannot breake through it.

4. It is fashioned when the *Diphalange Antistomus*. This manner of framing a wedge is described by *Ælian* in the 36 Chapter: and yet that wedge set downe there openeth in front, keeping the reare shut, and is opposed against the right induction, and called *Cælembolos*; here the wedge is described that openeth the reare, keeping the front close, and is opposed against the square. But the manner of framing both standeth vpon one reason: For the file-leaders being placed within the *Cælembolos*, the front of the battaile is opened and the reare kept close: in the other, the file-leaders being without, the reare is opened, the front still maintained shut. Now the file leaders place is varied in either of them, because of the severall effects which they work. The hollow fronted wedge *Cælembolos* seeketh to hold the enemy together, & so defeat him. The other to dispart and rout him, and so to gaine the victory. And because the streffe of the *Cælembolos* is within (for the flanks of the hollownesse claspe in the enemy, and fight against his flanks) therefore are the file leaders the foremost that fight within; as likewise because the outsidess of the wedge of this Chapter beare all the weight of the fight, therefore in it are the file-leaders without. For as in all other battailes the file-leaders ought first to attach the enemy, so is it likewise in these two formes. But where *Ælian* saith, that this battell is made out of the *Diphalange Antistomus*, by ioyning the wings in front, and opening them behinde, I take the Text to be corrupted. For the *Diphalange Antistomus* hath the file-leaders within, to resist the horse that charge them, as the 40 Chapter teacheth: this hath the file-leaders without to breake the enemies battaile and dislue it. The *Cælembolos* indeed is framed out of the *Diphalange Antistomus*: But the wedge of this Chapter springeth out of the *Phalange Antistomus*, which hath the file-leaders without. And so I am of opinion, it ought to be read in the Text. And yet there is no question but another way of figuring the wedge may be practised, then to leaue it hollow behind. In this Chapter it is called *Embolos*, and *Ælian* saith it is borrowed of the horse-wedge: Now that the horse wedge is so-

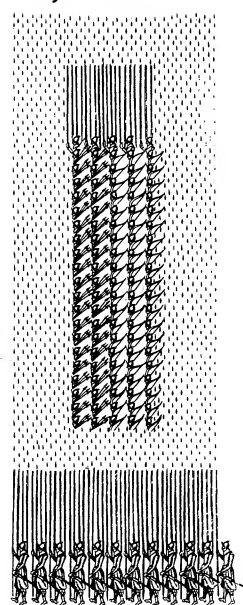
Front. Front.  
V A  
Cælembolos. Embolos.

The Poplemene



Cap. 49

The Plesium




The front



is not hollow within, is plaine by the 19 and 20 Chapters of this booke. I will conclude this Chapter with the caution of *Vegetius*, which is this, that if you shall make a paire of tongs or a hallow wedge, you ought to haue referues in readinesse behinde the battaile, wherewith you may frame your tongs or wedge. And yet this caution holdeth not alwayes; For as a horie-wedge, so a foot-wedge may be framed without supernumeraries: as the 19 and 20 Chapters shew.

Of the foot-battaile called *Plesium*, and of the Winding or Sawe-fronted battaile to encounter it.

CHAP. XLIX.

(1)  HE battaile *Plesium* hath the (1) length much exceeding the depth. And it is called *Plesium* when armed foot are placed on all sides, the archers and slingers being thrown into the midst: Against this kinde of battaile is set the winding-fronted battaile, to the end that with the vnequall figure it may traine out those of the *Plesium* to cope with them; and by that meanes dissolue and disorder the thicknesse of the same. And the file-leaders of the winding-fronted battaile obserue the file-leaders of the *Plesium*, that if they still maintaine their closenesse and fight secret, they also encounter them in the like forme. If the *Plesium* file-leaders seuer themselves and spring out from their maine force, then they likewise be ready to meet them man to man.

NOTES.

THIS Chapter containeth two foot-battailes, one to be opposed against the other; the first called the *Plesium*, or hollow-square; the second the winding-fronted battaile or *Peplegment*. Of which the first hath bene vsed by all antiquity, especially by the Grecians, whensoever the enemies overtopped in number, and they feared to be charged on all sides. It is called *Plesium* of the figure which is square; but originally and more particularly of the mould wherein bricks are cast. \* Because the battaile hath the likenesse of the mould; as being both square, and also hollow within, as I haue noted before. Neither is this name giuen to a battaile alone, <sup>b</sup> *Plutarch* saith, that the chariot wherein *Alexander* rode, when he returned from the Indies quaffing and rioting, was framed *πναισιον*, that is, in a square hollow forme, and the Helepolis (an engin which <sup>c</sup> *Demetrius* inuented to batter the Rhodian City) was tetragonall, and had 48 cubits in euery side of the *Plesium*. But in a battaile, that is *Plesium*, saith <sup>d</sup> *Ælian*, which

\* Etymologic. mou. πναισιον πναισιον.

<sup>b</sup> *Plutarch* in vita *Alexandri*.

<sup>c</sup> *Plutarch* in vita *Demetrii*.

2. Hath the length manifoldly exceeding the depth.] The length of a battaile, as I haue shewed heretofore, is that which runneth from the point of one wing to the other in front; the depth, that is measured from the front to the reare. In the *Plesium* then, according to *Ælian*, the length or breadth ought to be manifold to the depth. But it is not generally so; for oftentimes you shall read of *Plesiums* with <sup>d</sup> equall sides; and likewise that the *Plesium*

<sup>d</sup> *πναισιον* πναισιον.

<sup>e</sup> *Ælian* de exp. l. 3. 310. A.

<sup>f</sup> *Ælian* l. 4. 31. B.

\* Xenoph. d. exp. l. 1  
264. d.

sum is sometimes hollow within, sometimes solid and filled vp within with men: of which last kinde \* Xenophon saith, many of the Barbarians framed their troopes in the battaile betwixt *Ariaxerxes* and *Cyrus*. Of the first *Ælian* speaketh in this Chapter: for he would haue the foure sides to consist of armed, and the archers and slingers to be throwne into the hollownesse within. He hath before in the 42 Chapter described the *Plinthium* to be a square battaile in figure and number; this he would haue to be a square with the front manifoldly longer then the flanke. So that both battailes agree in that they are square, both in that they haue armed on all sides, both in that they are hollow within; they differ onely in the forme of the square, which is longer in the *Pleisum*, deeper in the *Plinthium*. Their affinity also appeareth in this also, that the *Plinthium* hath the name from a bricke, the *Pleisum* from the mould of a bricke; yet are their names oftentimes confounded: For that which is called in one Author *Pleisum*, is in another called *Plinthium*: as namely the battaile of *Antony* in Persia, is by *Plutarch* named *Pleisum*, by *Appian* *Plinthium*.

\* Plat. in *Antion*,  
\* App. in *Pars*,  
164.

To shew now the vse of this battaile, it is of the kinde of *Defensius*; and the Grecians, whensoever they feared to be charged in flanke, front, and reare at once, or to be ouer-laid with number of enemies, had recourse vnto this forme. There is a notable example of it in *Thucydides*. The *Athenians* hauing besieged *Syracuse* in Sicill both by Sea and Land, and being ouercome in two battailes by Sea, thought to march by Land to some one of their confederate Cities in the Island; and fearing to be round beset by the *Syracusians* in their way; *Nicias* one of the *Athenian* Generals put his part of the army in a *Pleisum*, and so marched before: *Demosthenes* the other *Athenian* General, followed with the other part of the army in the same forme. The armed cooke into the hollownesse of their battailes the cariage and vniuersall multitude. When they came to the foord of the river *Anapits*, they found the *Syracusians* and their allies embattailed there, whom hauing beaten from the place, they passed over and continued their march. The *Syracusian* horse still charged, and the light-armed ceased not to ply them with miserie weapons; but yet they came not to hand-blows, fearing to hazard against men desperately bent to sell their liues deere. At last wearying them with many dayes skirmish, and disordering their army, they forced them to yield. This History is at large set downe by *Thucydides*. I haue abridged it, lest it should take vp too much roome; and yet haue expressed both the forme in his words, and further the meanes, that the enemy vsed to breake it, and to get the victory. This forme was vsed by the Grecians at their returne out of Persia, after that *Clearchus* and the other Coronels were ensnared by *Tissaphernes*, and put to death: and againe by *Xenophon*, when he retreated, after he had failed of the raking of *Asidates* prisoner, not farre from *Pergamus* a City of *Lydia*. For the meanes to dissolue this battaile, the principall is, not to charge at hand those that stand so embattailed, but to ply them faire off with miserie weapons; which is manifest by the fight of the *Syracusians* against *Nicias* and the *Athenians*; and by that of the Persians, who so assailed *Xenophon* in his retreat last mentioned. *Ælian* setteth against it another forme of battaile which he termeth *Plegmene*, the minding fronted battaile, which is by some called the *save*: what kinde of battaile the *save* is, I see controuerted. Some would haue it consist of a constant front indented, and not changeable or alterable in any part, during the charge. If that be the *save*, it cannot agree with

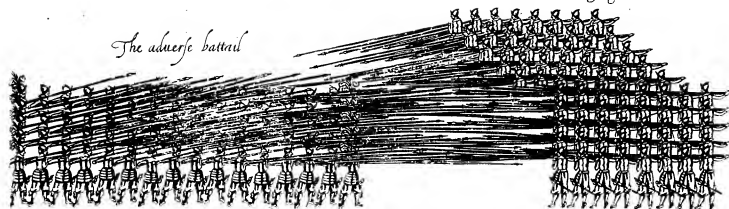
\* Thucyd. l. 7.  
550. C.  
These two Generals had each of them half the Army vnder their command.

\* Xenoph. h. d. exp.  
l. 3. 303. E.

Cap 50.

The ouerwinging battail

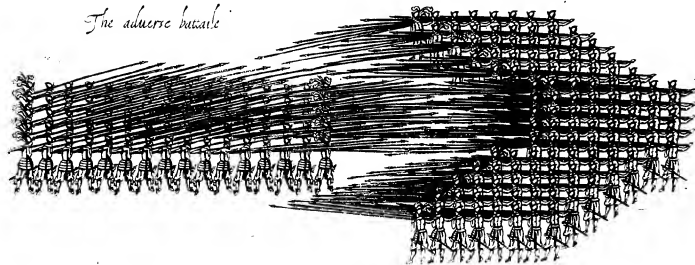
The aduerse battail



Cap. 50.

The adverse battle

The overflying battle



with *Alians* description, who would haue the file-leaders of the Peplegmene to aduance before their battaile, and be still in motion, of purpose to traine out the file-leaders of the Pleſium to meet them, thereby to diſſolue the forme of their battaile. And this is but a ſtratagem to preuaile againſt the enemy. For, as <sup>a</sup> *Leo* ſaith, a good Generall ought, as a good wreſtler, to make ſhew of one thing, and to put another in practice, to the end to deceiue the enemy, and gaine the victory; as is done in this manner of embattailing; but that the Sawe is no conſtant or ſetled forme of fight, as the reſt are, which are deſcribed by *Alian* in the Chapters going before, appeareth by *Fieſus*, whoſe words are theſe: *Serra preliari dicitur, cum aſſidue acciditur, recediturque, neque ullo conſtititur tempore.* The ſkirmiſh is ſaid to be made in the forme of a Sawe, when they that uſe this forme continually giue on and retire, and at no time ſtand ſtill. But we muſt vnderſtand that the mouing is not by mamples or by light-armed, as <sup>b</sup> *Lipſius* interpreteth it, but by file-leaders of the armed, as *Alian* teacheth, (with intent to traine out the file-leaders of the Pleſium, and ſo to diſorder their battaile:) the reſt of the Peplegmene ſtanding ſtill in their forme. Now then to make a Peplegmene or ſawe-battaile, direction is to be giuen to the file-leaders alone to fall out conſuſedly againſt the aduerſe Pleſium of the enemy, and to the reſt in the files to ſtand ſtill. Otherwiſe being not forewarned, the whole files will moue and follow their leaders; which if they doe, this forme cannot be made, but the battaile remaineth as a ſquare as it did before the going to charge. The forme of framing the battail called the Pleſium, and the words of command are deſcribed in my notes vpon the 42 Chapter.

<sup>a</sup> *Leo* c. 20 §. 11.

<sup>b</sup> *Lipſius* de mil. Rom. l. 4. diſt 7. p. 280.

Of Hyperphalangeſis, and Hyperkerafiſis, and of Attenuation.

## CHAP. L.

(1) **H**yperphalangeſis, or ouerfronting is, when both wings of the Phalange ouer-reach the enemies front.

<sup>2</sup> Hyperkerafiſis, or ouerwinging, is when with one of our wings we ouer-reach the front of the enemy. So that he that ouerfronteth, ouerwingeth; but he that ouerwingeth, ouerfronteth not.

For they that match not the enemy in multitude, may yet ouerwing him.

<sup>3</sup> Attenuation is when the depth of the battaile is gathered vp, and in ſtead of 16, a ſmaller number is ſet.

## NOTES.

**I**N this Chapter, being the laſt, that deſcribeth formes of battailes, are two kinds of battailes ſet forth, which are (if I miſtake not) of more efficacy, I am ſure, ſuch as haue beene more practiſed, then any of the other; that goe before in this booke; and they ſpecially giue aduantage to them, that haue aduantage in numbers of men, and can frame a larger fronted Phalange then the enemy is able. And either of them oppoſeth a large front againſt the enemy, the one ſtretching it beyōd the points of both their wings the other beyōd the point one of their wings. The firſt kind is called Hy-

H

perphal-

paphlangelis ouer-fronting, the other Hyperkeras, ouer-winging. Hyperphalangelis or ouer-fronting is, saith Aelian;

1 When both wings of the Phalange ouer-reach the enemies front.] To make it then Hyperphalangelis, the front must be much broader then the enemies, & extended beyond both their wings, of purpose to ouer-reach & wrap them in, charging not onely the front, but also the flanks on both sides at once; which is so dangerous a kinde of fight, that he that is so assayed, can haue no great hope of making resistance against his enemy; because the front being the place which is ordained for fight, and the pikes being bent and lying out from thence, if at the same time the flanks be also charged, the sides of the fouldiers must needs lye open to wounds, no man being able to defend himselfe, and turne his weapons two wayes at once. The ouer-fronting of Cræsus vsed against Cyrus, rehearsed by me in my notes vpon the 46 Chapter, is an eminent example of Hyperphalangelis, whereby Cræsus at one instant inuaded the front and both flanks of the enemies battaile. The like may be said of the battaile of Darius at Issos & Gaugamela, against Alexander; and of Scipio against Asdruball Gisgoes sonne in Spaine, and of Labienus against Caesar in Africa. The manner of framing this forme is diuers: For either you shew all your forces at first, or else conceale some part; and shewing all, you march in an euen and whole front, and bowing afterward your wings, enclose the flanks of the enemy, or else in an embowed forme at first (such as are the hollow-fronted battailes) and so encompass your enemy, taking him into the hollownesse, as you march forward. Of the first kind was the battaile of Labienus against Caesar which I mentioned last, and those of Darius against Alexander. Of marching in an embowed forme, that of Cræsus against Cyrus: Of concealing your number, that of Cleandridas against the Thurian cited by me in my notes vpon the 29 Chapter of this booke, and of Scipio against Asdruball which is set downe at large in the notes vpon the 28 Chapter.

2 Hyperkeras is when we ouer-reach the enemies front with one of our wings.] Ouer-fronting is of both wings, ouerwinging but of one. So that albeit your number be smaller then the enemies, yet if you wrap in a part of his front, and one of his wings, you so ouerwing him. To shew an example of ouerwinging you may finde in Thucydides, that the Argiues with their allies, being in the field against the Lacedæmonians and their allies, the battailes were ordered thus: The Lacedæmonians gaue the point of the left wing to be Scirites, who only of the Lacedæmonians haue alwaies that place. Next to them they ordered the souldiers of the Lacedæmonians came with Brasidas out of Thrice: Next them the new men's Citizens by companies by their sides, first the Heræans, then the Menidians, Arcadians both. In the right wing were the Tegeans, and a few of the Lacedæmonians in the point of that wing. The Loises were ranged on both wings. Thus were the Lacedæmonians embattailed: Their enemies thus; The Mantineans had the right wing, because the warres made in their Territory: by them stood the Arcadians their confederates. Then 1000 selected Argiues, whom the City had long time trained up in military exercise; to whom ioyned the other Argiues; and after them were ordered the Cleoneans, and the Orneestians their allies. The last were the Athenians, that had the left wing, and their owne horse between them. Thus was the preparation and embattailing of both parties. When they went to charge, the Argiues and their allies marched forward with speed and great fury, the Lacedæmonians leysurely according to the sound of the pipes,

placed

placed within their battaile, not for any religion sake, but to the end, that framing their motion to the sound of the instrument, they might not in the march breake their order of embattailing, which great armies often doe in aduancing; to ioine with the enemy. When they were ready to ioine, King Agis bethought himselfe of this stratagem: It is the manner of all armies in the onset to stretch out their right wings, and with them to circumsunt and encompass the left wings of their aduersaries; because euery souldier carefull of his owne safety seeks to cover his unarmed side with the target of him that standeth next to his right hand, and imagineth that the setting of targets close, serues for the best defence against the enemy. The cause is this; the corner file-leader of the right wing desiring to withdraw as much as hee can his naked side from the weapons of the enemy proceedeth to the right hand, and the rest follow him. And at that time the Mantineans a great deale ouer-reached the Scirites with their wing. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans much more the Athenians, by reason they o. nermarched them in number. Agis therefore fearing the encompassing of his left wing, seeing that the front of the Mantineans was very broad, and farre extended, gaue a signe to the Scirites and Brasideans to stretch out their wing, and to equall the front of the Mantineans. And for the void space that should remaine vpon their aduancing; he commanded two Polemarchs or Coronels, Hipponoidas and Aristocles to lead therein two cohorts from the right wing, and fill up the void space, concerning that he should, this notwithstanding, leaue himselfe strength enough in the right wing, and that the wing opposed against the Mantineans should hereby be better enabled to the encounter. But it happened that Hipponoidas & Aristocles followed not these directions, whether the reason were in the sudden esse of the command, or in the preuention of the enemies giuing on: for which fault they were afterward banished Sparta, as men effeminate & cowardly. When they came to hands, the right wing of the Mantineans put the Scirites and Brasideans to flight. And they and their allies, and the 1000 selected Argiues falling into the empty space, that was not filled up, made a great slaughter of the Lacedæmonians; and encompassing them forced them to turne their backs in haile, and fflye to their waggon; and likewise some of the elder sort of souldiers, that were left for guard there. Hitherto Thucydides. I persecute not the remanent of the battaile, because it is somewhat long. That which I haue recited is enough for my purpose, namely to shew the manner of ouerwinging. Thus then apply it. The Mantineans had their right wing farre extended beyond the point of the left wing of the Scirites and brasideans; who by marching out to the left hand fought to equall the front of their aduersaries; but left the ground voyd, wherein they were first placed. This ground by Agis his commandement should haue been filled by the Cohorts of Hipponoidas and Aristocles. It was not filled, so that in the charge the enemy had the aduantage to enter it; and to circumsunt on that side the Scirites and Brasideans, and put them to flight; in which danger will be common to all that shall be so ouerwinged by their enemy. The danger then of ouer-fronting and ouer-winging being so great, let vs see what remedies and preuentions against either of them haue beene deuised by antiquity.

Against ouer-fronting they sought to secure the flanks of their battailes, Remedies against sometimes by ordering their army in such a figure, as should be sufficient to sustaine the charge of the enemy, wherefoeuer he gaue on. Of which kinde is the Plesium or hollow-square spoken of in the last Chapter. This was practised by the Grecians at their returne out of Persia; and oftentimes by other Grecians, as is euery where to be found in their histories. And Alexander

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a Xenoph. Cyrop.  
1.7.473.

b Arr. 1.23.5. &c.  
1.3.40. f.  
Polyb. 11.  
6. c. 8.  
Liv. 1. 4. 20. d.  
Hist. de bell.  
Asi. 385.

See Tind. Sic of  
Philip against  
the Illyrians. 1.10  
pag. 512.

a T. b. 7. d. 1.  
350. D.  
See the like ex-  
ample in Xen. 6.  
Hist. 1. 1. 4. 20. d.  
515. E. 1. 10. d. 8.

The Plesium.

Epicampios  
opisthia.  
Mnd. Sic. 17. 52.  
Art. 13. 60. C. 8.

Xenoph. Cyrop.  
1. 76. 4.  
1. 80. 14. 5. 8.  
Polyb. 1. 16. 4. 5.

Art. 12. 33. 36.

Cesar de bello  
gall. 12. 6. 13.  
523.  
E Plut. in syl. 12.  
Aelian in bell.  
mithridatico.

Turkish history  
1. 27. 5. 2.

Remedies against  
overwinging.

Aelian 1. 9. 5. 8.

Polyb. 1. 13. in  
Cicero de off. 1. 5. 4.  
2. 100. 1. 5. 1. 8.  
1. 10. 6. 14. 5. 10. 8.

Xenoph. de equ. 1. 4.  
341. F.  
1. 400. 12. 5. 34.

under when he was to fight with *Darius* at Gaugamela (the country being Champaigne and *Darius* abounding in multitudes) defended himself with an Epicampios opisthia, or a reare hollow battaile. I have shewed the manner of it before in my notes vpon the 46 Chapter. And sometimes againe by foreseeing the danger and placing reserves in the reare, or some other secret place to charge the enemy in their flanke, while they busie themselves against your flanks. This was practised by *Cyrus* the elder against *Craesus*, as I have shewed in my notes vpon the 46 Chapter. Of this kinde also it is, when you lay an ambush to charge their reare, while they charge your flanks. The place will likewise helpe much to avoid encompassing. For if the battaile be fought in a freight place by nature, where the enemy cannot draw out his Phalange in length, there is no danger of encompassing. So *Alexander* at Issus in Cilicia was freed from encompassing, the place being too narrow for *Darius* to bring all his forces into an equall front. The place may also be helped by art in case it be otherwise to open, and fix for the enemy, that aboundeth in number to encompass vs on euery side. So *Cesar* being to fight against multitudes of Gauls, drew a deepe trench on both the flanks of his army to assure it from the charge of the enemy. The like did *Sylla* against *Archelaus* the Cerrall of Mithridats in the battaile Cheronea, and both of them so securing their armies from circumvention, became by that means masters of the field and conquerours of their enemies. Of later time *Io. Hunyadi* the Hungarian King, being to fight against a huge army of the Turkes, gained a roote victory against them by placing his army on the one side against a fence, and enclosing it on the other side with his waggons. And these preuentions have beene deuised against Hyperphalangeis, or over-fronting. Against overwinging, they thought it sufficient to strenthen and make fast the wing, that was like to be endangered by the enemy; so that all remedies against overfronting are good also against overwinging: But the remedies against overwinging are not sufficient to frustrate overfronting. Overwinging therefore hath beene avoided sometimes by drawing out the endangered wing in length to equall the enemies wing, that opposeth against it. This is done by doubling of ranks as *Aelian* teacheth in the 29 Chapter. and as it was practised by *Cleandridas* the Laedemonian against the Thuriens. Wherein notwithstanding this caution is to be held, that you double not your ranks so, that you make the depth of your body to thin; for in doing your body will be as subiect to breaking for want of depth as for want of length to overwing. Beside, it is done by facing to the hand, where the enemies battaile overwingeth, and marching out against it parallelly, till your wing equall the wing of the enemy: but notwithstanding that the void space, from whence you drew your wing, be filled vp for feare the enemy giue in to it, and distresse you there, as may be seene by the president which in this Chapter I gaue out of *Thucydides* of overwinging, and the example of the Chians, who fearing to be overfronted by the Grecians vpon a hill, vpon which they stood embattailed, led their wings to the right and left hand to match the front of the Grecians, leauing the middelt of their battaile empty, into which the Grecians conueying themselves easily put the Chians to flight, as *Xenophon* recordeth. Overwinging is also prevented, if you hold reserves secretly in the reare of your battaile to flye out vpon the sudden against those for-

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ces of the enemy, that seeke to ouerwing you. This remedy was vsed by *Cesar* in the battaile of Pharsaly, when *Pompey* hauing abundance of horsemen, sought to circumvent that wing of *Cesar's* battaile, which lay to the open field, and was not guarded with a fence, as the other wing was. For to prevent the charge of these horse, *Cesar* bestowed certain cohorts, who were to hold themselves close in the reare of his legions; not facing as his legions did against the legions of *Pompey*, but facing into the field, from whence he suspected the enemies horse would charge; so that when the horse charged, these cohorts suddenly falling out vpon them, and putting them to flight, were the beginning of *Cesar's* victory. The place also often giueth assurance against overwinging, whether it be a riuer or the sea, or a mountaine, or such like, to which you may apply the flanke of your wing. For a riuer, you have the example of *Clearchus* in the battaile betwixt *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus* the younger, in which *Clearchus* ordered his troups of Grecians on the right wing close to the riuer Euphrates. And when *Cyrus* would haue had him charge the middelt of the Persian Phalange, because the King had placed himselfe there: (yet saith *Xenophon*) *Clearchus* seeing the King was furthest without the left wing of the Grecians (for the King so much exceeded in multitude, that the middelt of his battaile was a great way without the left wing of *Cyrus*) would not withdraw his right wing from the riuer, fearing to be encompassed on both sides.

The like was done by *Alexander* the Great in the Countrey of the Getes: this is the effect of the words of *Arrian*; "When they (the Getes) saw *Alexander* industriously advance his Phalange by the riuers side, lest the foot might happily be circumvented and encompassed by some ambush of the Getes, and his horse in the front, the Getes forsooke also their City, which was not very well walled, setting many of their children and wines vpon their horses backs, as the horses could carry, and retired into the wilderness a great way from the riuer." By the Sea you may auoide likewise overwinging, if you order one of the flanks of your Army close to the Sea side. This was put in vre by *Alexander* when he fought the battaile against *Darius* at Issus in Cilicia. Thus saith *Arrian*; "The foot of the left wing were commanded by *Craterus*, but the whole left wing by *Parnianus*, who was enjoined not to forsake the Sea, for feare of encompassing by the Barbarians: for by reason of their number they might easily encircle the Macedonians on all parts. A Mountaine also that is steep, will giue good security to the flanke of a battaile, that may otherwise be encompassed. At the battaile of Platea which was fought betwixt the Grecians and *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall; the Grecian Army consisting of 100000. the Persian of 500 thousand, the Grecians at the first encamped at the foot of the Mountaine *Cytheron*; but finding the place fitter for the multitude of the Persians, then for the melues, they reposed their Camps, and chose a more commodious piece of ground to pursue the total victory. For there was on the right hand a bi-hill, on the left, ran the riuer *Alopus*. The Camps was pitched in the middle space, which was fortified by the nature and sensens of the plot of ground. Therefore the strenght of the place much favoured the wisecounsel of the Grecians toward the obtaining of victory. For there was no room for the Persians to extend their Phalange in any great proportion of length; so that many Myriads of the Barbarians came to be of no use. The Grecians therefore in confidence of the place, advanced their forces to fight, and ordering themselves according to the present occasion, led against the enemy. *MarJonius* being compelled vs-

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make a deepe Phalange, ordered his battaile in such sort, as he thought most convenient, and with cries set forward against the Grecians. This example albeit it be a remedy against Hyperphalangelis, or over-fronting, yet because it giueth a safeguard by a mountaine to one of the wings, I take it to be proper enough to Hyperkerasis or over-winging. Besides that, as I before noted, all means that are vsed to auoid over-fronting, are good likewise for the auoiding of over-winging.

3 *Attention is.*] This is nothing else but doubling of ranks: whereof see the 29 Chapter.

*Of conueighing the carriage of the Army.*

CHAP. XLV.



HE leading of the carriage, if any thing else, is of great (1) importance, and (2) requireth a speciall Commander.

It may be conueighing in 5 manners, (3) either before the army, or (4) behinde, or on the (5) one flanke, or the other, or in the (6) middelt.

Before, when you feare to be charged behinde: behinde, when you lead toward your enemy: when you feare to be charged in flanke, on the contrary side. In the middelt when a hollow battaile is needfull.

NOTES.

\* Leo. c. 10. §. 2.  
2, 3, 4.

**T**S of great importance.] The importance of disposing the carriage in a march is well set downe by \* Leo: You (saith hee to his General) ought to haue a speciall care of your baggage, and not to leaue it at random, but to secure it in the place where it shall be; nor to lead it casually into the battaile: For it oftentimes falleth out, that seruants fit for the Souldiers use, and the Souldiers children and kinsmen are amongst it: and if it remaine not in safety, the mindes of the Souldiers are distracted with doubtfullnesse and care and feare of the spoyle thereof: for every man of vnderstanding endeoureth to possesse that which is the enemies, without losse of his owne. This is the aduice of Leo. A pregnant example hereof may be read in Diodorus Siculus his description of the last battaile betwixt Antigonus and Eumenes; In which Antigonus hauing foyled Eumenes horse, sent his Median horse-men, and a sufficient number of Tarentines to invade the enemies baggage; For he hoped (which was true) not to be descried by reason of the dust, and by possessing the baggage to become vanquisher of the enemy without trauaile. They that were sent viding about thewring of their aduersaries vnperceiued, fell vpon the baggage, which was distant from the battaile about fure furlongs. And finding by it a rabble of folke vnfit for fight, and but a few left for gard thereof, putting them to flight quickly (that withstood) they made themselves maisters of all the rest. Eumenes heeing that his baggage was lost, endeoured notwithstanding to renew the fight, in hope by gaining the victory, not onely to preferue his owne baggage, but also to possesse that of the enemy. But the Macedonians refused to strike stroke, alledging that their carriage was lost, and their children and wines, and many other bodies necessary were in the hands

hands of the enemy. And sending priuily Embassadors to Antigonus they seized vpon Eumenes, and deliuered him vpon into Antigonus possession. Thus much for the importance of assuring the carriage.

2 *Requieareth a speciall Commander.*] That the baggage ought to haue a speciall Commander<sup>b</sup> Leo also affirmeth: \* Vegetius addeth a gard to the baggage, and<sup>d</sup> Leo a proper Ensigne, saying; To every regiment there ought to be allotted a Waggon Master, and a proper Ensigne as well to the horse as oxen, that they may be discerned to their owners by the colours of the Ensigne.

3 *Either before the Army.*] The first of the five wayes, by which the baggage is conueighing in a march, is to lead it before the Army; which manner is to be put in practise, when the enemy pursueth in the reare: For if when the enemy followeth, the baggage should be behinde, he would soone haue means to seize vpon and rattle it, then you could haue to wheele about your army to succour it. For these five manners of conueighing the carriage, Leo agreeth with *Ælian* in these words: Your carriage, saith he, ought to haue a speciall Commander to order and gouerne it: and he is to lead it either before the Army, if you search out of the enemies Countrey; after the Army, if you invade the enemies territory; on the one side or other, when you feare to be charged on the one or either of your flanks; within the phalange, when you haue suspicion to be charged on all parts. So Leo agreeing with *Ælian*.

4 *Or behinde.*] The baggage is to be alwayes disposed of so, that the army may be betwixt it and the enemy. It ought to be before when the enemy is like to giue on behinde; behinde, when he seeketh to affront you from before. And yet it sometimes falleth out, that all the baggage is not to be led behinde the whole army, according to this precept of \* Leo. Cause every drung or regiment (saith he to his General) to accustome their owne baggage to follow after their regiment with their owne Ensignes, and not to mingle with other. For it is necessary, when the enemy is neither present nor expected in our owne Countrey, to march either by Regiments or else by Formes; and not to gather your whole Army into one place, lest he be easily starued with hunger, or the number be quickly consumed by the enemies officials, or be sencer in forage. In another place speaking of marching thorough woody and rough wayes, he hath thus: In case you haue horse or baggage, lead your baggage behinde your army, and after it the horse, and after them a few light armed targitators, to be as it were bringers vpon of the march, for feare of unexpected incursions which oftentimes chanceth to be made by the enemy. In another thus: When you enter your enemies Countrey, you shall cause your carriage to march in the reare; but when the enemy draweth nigh, you shall bestow it in the middelt of the Army. And in any case you must haue your carriage, and the Captiues (if you haue any) seperated from the Souldiers that are to fight, lest if the enemy fall on roundly, they be hindered that are to fight. For the distance that the carriage ought to hold behinde the Army, the same Leo hath thus; If you thinke it convenient for the carriage to follow the Army, you are to order it a full bowe shot from the Army, and let every part follow their owne bodies in good array: giuing it such breadth in the march, as the Army possesseth; lest that lying out beyond the breadth of the Army, they become vnaccountable. These are the precepts of Leo concerning the conueighance of the carriage in the reare. For the practise of it you haue a precedent of \* Cyrus the elder, which is at large rehearsed by me in my notes vpon the 7 Chapter of this Booke: and another of \* Alexander the Great, when hee led against the Persians at

\* Leo. c. 10. §. 19.

\* Leo. c. 9. §. 6. & 12. §. 12. When the enemy is not feared.

\* Leo. c. 9. §. 6.

\* Leo. 17. §. 6.

\* Leo. c. 10. §. 18.

\* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

the river Granicus, and an infinite number of other examples are to be found in History every where.

5 Or on the one flanke, or the other.] Aelians precept for disposing of the baggage on the flanks, is very good: For it ought as much as is possible, to be preferred from the touch of the enemy; neither can there be any better way to secure it, then your opposition, the Army betwixt it and the enemy; but so, notwithstanding that it have a guard about it at all times, to sue it from the sudden inuasion of your enemies horse. If therefore the enemy appeare on your left flank, your baggage is to be couched on the right flank; If on contrary the enemy come on to charge your right flanke, the baggage is to be removed to the left. And this holdeth, onely when the enemy appeareth vpon one flanke, and not on both. But in case the enemy appeare on both flanks at once, then is the safest place for it,

(6) In the middlest.] There are two manners of leading of the baggage in the middlest, and that according to the nature and condition of the ground, where our army marcheth. If therefore the way be straight, Leo giueth this precept, *Those that lead their army through straight, hauing with it either baggage or prey, ought to diuide it into a diphalance, and to marching-wise in a right induction.* A right induction, that is, which is narrow in front, and hath the depth stretched out in length: And this is to be done especially, when there is a prey in the hands of the army. And if they consist of foot, the passage will be the easier through rough and comber some places. If horse, they are to alight and take the baggage and carriage into the middlest. But in such times and places, you are to appoint some chosen men onely for the defence of the prey, and to order them upon the four sides of the Diphalance, is the place will give leane, to the end to follow it, and repulse those of the enemy that offer to charge or distract it. And the battail (or diphalance) so ordered for the preservation of the carriage or prey, be maintained whole and entire. For it is not possible for those of the Diphalance both to defend the prey in good order, and to ioyne with the enemy that chargeth, which is the cause that they ought to be extraordinary men to march without the four sides of the army; but especially you are to appoint the best of them to wait upon the reare: For so many at all times, rough and trouble some places be passed through with safety. This is Leo's precept for straight & narrow passages: because in such you cannot forme your army into a hollow square, wherein the baggage is to be couched, and to be defended on all sides. For if the ground be open enough to cast your selfe into a square, hee holdeth the forme the safest to giue security to your baggage. These be his words: Place all your carriage, servants, and baggage, and provision, in the middlest of your army. And in another place, speaking of a retreat to be made after an encounter received, he writeth thus: You shall order your whole power into two Phalanges or battails, or into one square Plinthium; in the middlest whereof you shall put the carriage, beasts, and baggage, and without them the souldiers in order, and without them the archers, and so retire and depart in safety. Again he saith, In marches, the enemy approaching, it is necessary to haue your carriage in the middlest, left being vnguarded, it be spoiled and rifled. With Leo doth Xenophon agree. His words haue this thew: I will not wonder if as fearfull degrees we want to follow and live such as passe by, if they can, and to flye from such as follow them, so the enemy haue upon our reare. Therefore we shall perhaps march the safer, if making a Plethion of the armed, the carriage and vnpportable multitude be throwne into the middlest for more security. And if it be now determined who shall command the front of

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the Plethion, and who the two wings, and who the reare, wee shall not need to consult when the enemy approacheth, but execute that which is resolved upon. This is Xenophon's counsell for the march in open ground, when the enemy aboundeth in number of fouldiers: which counsell was often put in practice, and the Grecians being but 10000 secured themselves against infinite multitudes of Persian horse that charged them on all sides, and also preserved, and led their carriage safe in despite of the enemy. The like was practised by Xenophon afterward in the last warlike action of the Grecians in their returne out of Persia. He setteth downe the history after this manner; Now was it time, viz. after they had assaulted a fort in vaine, the enemy of the country gathering head, to thinke upon a faire retreat, and conueying the oxen and sheep they had taken, and likewise the slaves, into a Plethion, they quickly desmarched, not so much esteeming their prey, as fearing in case they left it behind, their departure might seeme a plaine running away, and the enemy gather heart, the Grecian souldiers be discouraged. So now they departed fighting as it were about the prey. The souldiers with Xenophon being shrewdly armed with bowes & slings, cast themselves into a ring to the end to oppose their targets against the shot of the enemy, and with much adoe passed the river Caicus, the one halfe of them being wounded. Agalias also the Strymphantian Capitaine was hurt whilst hee maintained fight with the enemy, during the whole retreat. Yet they all returned safe to the Campe bringing with them about 200 slaves, and sheepe enough for Sacrifice. Here Xenophons souldiers figured themselves first into a Plethion couching their prey in the middlest; afterward being overlaid with the enemies shot, they conuered their Plethion into a Ring, in which forme they recovered their Camie, notwithstanding the molestation and often charging of a great multitude of horse and foot, that were enemy and followed them. Of the forme of things I finde not many examples amongst the Grecians; the Romans vsed them often, when they found themselves encompassed by the enemy, as Virginius hath; and may bee seene in Caesar's Commentaries. And let thus be said of the foure manners of placing the carriage in a march.

2<sup>o</sup> et 3<sup>o</sup> de bel. lib. 1.  
Cesar. 1. de bel. lib. 1.  
virtutis de bel. lib. 1.  
exam. 38.

Of the words of Command, and certaine obseruations about them.

## CHAP. LII.



All of all, we will briefly repeate the words of direction; if we admonish first that they ought to be short, then that they ought to be without double signification. For the Souldiers, that in haste receive direction, had neede to take heede of doubtfull words, lest one doe one thing, and another the contrary. As for the purpose; If I say turne your face, some, it may be, that heare me, will turne to the right, some to the left hand, and so no small confusion follow. Seeing therefore these words Turne your face importa generally signification, and comprehend turning to the right or left hand; we ought in stead of saying, turne your face to the pike, to pronounce it thus, 2<sup>o</sup> your pike turne your face; that is, we ought to set the particular before, and then inferre the generally; for so will all doe alike together.

Like



## The Tactics of Ælian, or

Like reason is, if you say *Turne about your face, or countermarch*: for these are also generall words, and therefore wee should doe well to set the particular before. As to the pike, *turne your face about, or to the target, turne your face about*. Likewise the *Lacedemonian Countermarch*, not the *countermarch Lacedemonian*: For if you place the word *countermarch* first, some of the Souldiers will happily fall to one kinde, other to another kinde of countermarch. For which cause words of double sense are to be avoided, and the speciall to be set before the generall.

### NOTES.

[If we admonish first that they ought to be short.] The ordering and motions of an army ought to be quickly performed, the rather because the transmutations of the body and the occasions of them are sudden for the most part. And therefore the meanes to worke the transmutations commanded (these meanes are the words of direction) ought to suite to the nature of the motions themselves, and to be applied to celerity by shortnesse of speech. Short speech is better carried away, and sooner put in execution, then speech that is longer. Yet is not such a shortnesse to bee affected, as will bring with it obscurity, according to the saying of the Poet; *Brevi esse laboro—Obscurus fio. I labour to be short, and so become obscure*. And therefore I take the practice of French Commanders, when they command Facing in these words; *A droite, a gauche*, to the right, to the left, without adding face, and likewise of the Netherlanders in imitation of the French *Reebes om, flinks om*, and of some English in these words; *To the right, to the left*, not pronouncing the motion which is to be made to the hand appointed. These I say, I take to be without the warrant of reason, and of all antiquity, from which Ælian draweth this rule. For the command of *right* and *left* alone sheweth that the Commander would have a motion performed to the named hand, but leaveth uncertaine what the motion should be, so that albeit some souldiers fall to a *countermarch*, some other to *wheeling*, or to *doubling*, or to *facing*, they are to be reputed blamelesse, and to have performed that which their direction willed them to doe, because the command was of moving to the *right* or *left* hand onely, not shewing what motion should be made to either hand. Shortnesse therefore is required by Ælian, but such a Shortnesse as is not wrapped vp in obscurity, and which may fully deliuer the minde of the Commander to the souldiers, which hee hath in exercise. And as the words ought to be short, so ought they to be,

[Without double signification.] Where they have a double signification, that is, may be diversly understood by them, who are vnder direction; some of the souldiers (as Ælian saith) will doe one thing, some another, which must needs breed a confusion in the body exercised. For as vniformity of motion in every particular souldier preferreth the whole body, and every ioynt, or part, thereof entire, so the dissimilitude of motion in the particulars induceth a disioyning, as it were, & a disorder of the multitude of the whole battaile in generall. To avoid then the inconvenience of double vnderstanding in words: Ælian thinketh fit, that the speciall word should be placed before the generall, and in stead of *Face to the pike*, he would have the Com-

mande

## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

mander to pronounce thus: *To the pike face* (that is to the *right hand*:) holding the word *right hand* to be more speciall or streighter in signification, then the word *Face*. Let me haue pardon if I differ from Ælian herein. For Logicians hold those words more generall, that stretch vnto, and comprehend vnder them most particulars. Now considering there are four motions of the battaile, which cannot be put in vse but by words of direction, and in the direction the word *right* or *left hand* is of necessity to be applied to every of them (as for example *Countermarch* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Face* to the *right* or *left hand*, and so of the rest:) it is euident, that the word *right hand*, or *left hand* is more generall then any one of the motions, because it stretcheth to them all. So that albeit we retain the rule of Ælian, namely, to set the speciall before the generall, yet may we very safely from his example, and not onely in *facing*, but also in the three other motions pronounce the direction thus: *Face* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Double* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Countermarch* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Wheele* to the *right* or *left hand*: because the word *right* or *left hand* is more generall, then any one of the motions. But admit it were more particular, yet the necessity of our language would force vs to forsake this rule of Ælian. For in euery language there is an idome or propriety of speech, and that not onely in the phrase it self, but also in the very ioyning & tying together of the words of the sentence. So that that which forteth well with one language, will not be received in another. In Greeke, in which tongue Ælian wrote, it foundeth well to place the no vne gouerned by a verbe, before the verbe it selfe. So in *Latine*, *Dutch*, *French*, and other tongues. In English if a man should doe the like (vnlesse it were in verse, wherein the number of the feet is more respected then the ordering of the words) he should be accounted ridiculous or vaine. For take the example here set downe, to the *right hand face*, to the *right hand double*, or *countermarch*, or *wheele*, and let vs vie the same order of words in common speech, and a man say to his seruant: *To the Church goe, to the mill come carry, bootes cleane make*. To the cutler my rapier carry: he would not laugh at his speech, or thinke him idle in so pronouncing. Wherefore albeit Ælian hold that forme agreeable to the Greeke tongue, yet I cannot see how it will be fit that our English, according to which I hold it better to pronounce after this manner: *Face to right hand*, *Countermarch* to the *right hand*, and so in the rest, then after this, *To the right hand face*, to the *right hand countermarch*; the rather because the property of speech auaieth much to the celerity of souldiers, who for the most part are vnlearned, and will hardly vnderstand, in case the wonted custome, and ordinary vie of ordering words be inuerted.

### CHAP. LIII.

BEVt above all things silence is to be commanded, and heed giuen to directions, as Homer especially signifieth in his description of the Grecian and Trojan fights, saying:

The

## The Taciticks of Ælian, or

The skilfull Captaines pressed on, guiding with carefull eye  
 Their armed troopes, who followed their leaders silently;  
 You surely would haue deem'd each one of all that mighty throng  
 Had bene bereft of speech, so bridled he his headfull tongue,  
 Fearing the dread Commanders cheeke and dreadfull heit; among  
 Thus march'd the Greeks in silence, breathing flames of high desire  
 And seruent Zeale to backe their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.

As for the disorder of the Barbarians he resemblance it to Birds, saying:

A shales of fowle, Geese, Cranes, and Swans with necks far stretcht out,  
 Which in the stony gulfes winding streames about.  
 Shere here and there the liquid skie, sporting on wanton wing,  
 Then fall to groun twith clanging nosse, the jens all ouer ring.  
 None otherwise the Troians fill the field with heaped founds  
 Of broken and confused cries, each where tumult abounds.

And againe:

The Captaines marshall out their troopes ranged in goodly guise,  
 And forth the Troians pae like birds, that late the ayre with cries,  
 Not so the Greeks, whose silence breath'd flames of high desire,  
 Feruent in zeale to backe their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.

### NOTES.

Silence when a battaile is put in order either for fight, or exercise, is one of the principall points of obedience, which belongeth to a souldier; the breach whereof more endangereth the proceeding of warre, then a rawe souldier would thinke, who onely is wont to offend in that kind. I haue before entreated of signes, and shewed, that in the obseruing of directions consisteth the greatest helpe of victory; in neglecting them, the chiefeft meanes to take an ouerthrow, and be defeated. For as directions being executed giue life vnto warlike actions to effect that which the Commander desireth, so whatsoever hindereth the receiuing of directions, must needs crosse the desires of the Commander, and by consequence frustrate and disannull that which was thought by him most fit to be put in practice either for the good order, or for the preservation of the Army, or else for the gaying of victory: A man that is not attentiu cannot marke the command deliuered: Nor can he be attentiu, that whilst it is deliuered busieth his head with other thoughts, or else entertaineth his next standers by with talke, a meanes to diuert aswell the speaker as the hearer from that heed which ought to be giuen to direction; in as much as no man hath the ability to heare another mans speech, and himselfe take at the same instant, or at the same time to discern two mens seuerall speeches, which are deliuered together. All generals haue held Silence a principall point of warlike discipline. And therefore in Commands they make it the first. *Leos* precept is this: When the troopes are drawne together, and ordered for exercise, let the cryer (for euery company had then a cryer) giue these directions: Doe what you are commanded with silence; keepe your places euery man, follow your colours. And in ano-

thers

## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

ther place he writeth thus: When your Army goeth out to ioyne with the enemy, there ought to be a deepe silence; For that both preserue the Army from disorder, and also maketh the directions of the Commanders to be heard with more attention. And againe thus: There ought to be as much silence as may be in the Army, and if the bringers vp of any file, heare but a whispering of their fellowes in the file, they are to prick the parties with the points of their pikes, and so to redresse the fault. Alexander when he was returning from the Countrey of the Taulantians, into which he had made an inroad, found his way beset with enemies, and being to cast his Army into a forme of battaile to fight, he first commanded an absolute silence, and then proceeded to other directions. And for the effect of silence, our owne story hath a memorable example of the Army of Edward the fourth in Barnet field.

As for the silence here prescribed by Ælian, it extendeth not onely to exercise and fight, but oftentimes to the marching of an Army, and to the Campe, as appeareth by the last example, and by *Leos* precept in his eleuenth Chapter. And yet this precept of silence is not inuolubly to be kept in an Army at all times: for there is a time, when the Souldiers ought to giue a generall shout, and cry thorow the whole Army, to the end to terrifie the auerse battaile of the enemy; and that time hath alwayes bene choisen, and by all Nations obserued, when the fight is presently to be vndergone. I neede not bring instances thereof, euery man knoweth it, that is although but meanely acquainted with History. It is termed in Greeke *ἀνὰ φωνήν*, in Latine *clamor*. in English a shout of the whole Army; the which being performed, silence is to be restored in as strict manner as before. And thus much of silence. Now followeth the words of direction in Ælians last Chapter.

of the words of direction.

### CHAP. LIIII.

Thus then are we to command.

- 1 To your armes.
- 2 Carriage away from the battaile.
- 3 Be silent and marke your directions.
- 4 Take vp your armes.
- 5 Seperate your selues.
- 6 Aduance your Pikes.
- 7 File your selues.
- 8 Ranke your selues.
- 9 Looke to your leaders.
- 10 Reare-Commander strengthen your file.
- 11 Keepe your first distances.
- 12 Face to the pike.

Moue a little further.  
 Stand so.

- 13 As you were.
- 14 Face to the Target.

Moue

## The Tacticks of *Ælian*, of

Moue a little further.  
Stand fo.

- 23 As you were.
- 16 Face about to the pike.
- 27 As you were.
- 18 Double your depth.
- 19 To your first posture.
- 20 The Lacedemonian Countermarch.
- 21 To your first posture.
- 22 The Macedonian Countermarch.
- 23 To your first posture.
- 24 The Choraean Countermarch.
- 25 To your first posture.

The precepts of the art Tacticks haue I delivered vnto you (most inuincible *Cæſar*) which I make no doubt, will bring to the practice ſafety, and victory ouer his enemies.

### NOTES.

*Leo cap. 7. § 88.*

**T**Heſe words of direction here ſet downe, are rather to ſhew the manner of Command, then to expreſſe the iuit number of directions vſed in exerciſe: yet doth *Leo* the Emperour tranſcribe ſome of them, albeit not all, out of *Ælian*; and the laſt in *Leo* hath a mixture of two motions in one direction, being deliuered in theſe words, *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ ἐπιπολεῖν*, which is in Latine tranſlated by Sir *Iohn Ch. k.* *Laconicum ad dextram trahere*; and may be thus engliſhed, wheele thrice the Lacedemonian Countermarch to the right hand; wherein there is both *wheeling* and the *Lacedemonian Countermarch* commanded at once, a thing impoſſible to be performed. For as in *wheeling*, the whole battaile remaineth entire, and moueth circlewiſe about the right or left corner fileleader, as about a Center; So in a Countermarch Lacedemonian it is broken, and beginneth to moue by ſeverall ranks, and continueth the motion in a direct line from the front to the reare, and not in a circle. But for the precepts of *Ælian* I purpoſe to explaine onely ſuch as are vſed by the Souldiers and Commanders of our time: And after taking of armes I hold this to be the firſt, at leſt when we begin to moue.

### 6 Advance your Pikes.

Pikes in ordering of a battaile muſt be firſt *advanced* before any motion can be performed, in as much as all other poſtures of the Pike doe hinder, or elſe are vniſt for tranſmutations and variety of changes, and from *advancing* the reſt of pike-poſtures doe ſpring. *Ordering* of the Pike was deuſed to eaſe the Souldier ſtanding ſtill; *ſhouldering*, to eaſe him in marching; *advancing*, to giue facility to the other poſtures, and to finiſh them, becauſe they both begin and end in it.

### 7 & 8. File and ranks your ſelues.

It is needleſſe to note, that no battaile can be without filing and ranking. This

## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

This we muſt vnderſtand, that the Captaine is to ſee whether the Souldiers be filed and ranked; but the action it ſelfe pertaineth to the Souldiers, who knowing their files and rankes, are euery man to take their place accordingly: for ſo ought it to be in true diſcipline of Warre.

### 9 Looke to your Leader.

The file-leader is the life, and giuer of forme vnto the file. He is the life in that he moueth firſt, and draweth the reſt vnto the ſame motion; he giueth the forme vnto it, becauſe it being nothing elſe but a right line, his ſtanding, being the firſt point, directeth the reſt to follow lineally one after another. In this precept therefore *Looke to your Leader* two things are commanded, one that the reſt of the file ſhould obſerue to moue and ſtand ſtill, as he doth; the other, that they ſhould maintaine a ſtraightneſſe and rightneſſe in length, which is the forme of the file.

### 10 Reare-commander order your file.

*See Ælian. cap. 7.*

In the Greeke Edition of *Ælian* is read *ἡγεμὼν*, that is, file-leader. But in a Manuſcript, which I haue ſeene, is *ὑποῖπτος*, the bringer vp or reare-commander, and ſo is it read in *Leos* Tacticks; and I take it to be the true reading, this command rather appertaining to the reare-Commander, then to the file-leader: for the file-leader being the forefront of the file, and bearing his face out of the front, how can he ſee whether the file that is behinde him, be in right order or not. The bringer-vp hath his face toward the whole file, as it ſtandeth out before him: and therefore may eaſily diſcerne if any man be in diſorder, and reforme them that are the cauſe of the diſorder. In which reſpect it is euident, that he is fitter for the command, then the file-leader; which is the cauſe, that I haue tranſlated the word of direction, as before, *Reare-commander order your file*.

### 11 Keepe your firſt diſtances. That is, ſtand in your open order. For in that diſtance is the exerciſe firſt legunne.

It is a ſeemly thing to ſee an even proportion obſerued in the motion of a battaile, and to behold a direct ſpace betwixt files and rankes. For that is the grace and beauty (as I may terme it) of a Phalange ordered for fight. This proportion cannot be maintayned without obſeruing diſtance curiouſly. Open order is fixe foot both in ranke and file betwixt man and man euery way. If then any ſouldier in file gather vp to his leader, and ſtand at diſtance of three foot, it is maniſeſt, that his ranke is thereby diſturbed and made vneuen, although the file continue ſtraight. Contrariwiſe, if he beare himſelfe out of his place, three foot toward either of his ſide-men, by this meanes he diſordereth his file and maketh it crooked. This fault if it were committed by many, a generall diſorder would follow in the body; and therefore *Ælian* well aduertieth to keepe the firſt diſtances eſpecially till you be commanded to the ſecond or third diſtance, which will often fall out in the foure motions. Of which Facing is the firſt; and the words of direction in it are theſe as before in *Ælian*.

*Facing:  
1 Motion.*

I 2

22 Face

12 *Face to the Pike.*See Ælian before  
cap. 15.

That is, Face to the right hand; For the pike was always borne in the right hand.

14 *Face to the Target.*

The Pike-men in the Macedonian army bore targets on their left armes, or on the left side, so that facing to the target is all one with the word of command; Face to the left hand.

16 *Face about to the pike or target.*

That is, face about to the right or left hand. But where hee addeth *[more a little further,]* he signifieth that the direction is not fully accomplished, and he would haue the souldiers continue their motion till their faces were fully come about to the reare; and then hee willeth them to stand so, because they haue gayned their place. These facings here expressed by Ælian, are of the whole body. Other facings of the parts he hath not set downe, which notwithstanding are oftentimes of great vse. For say the enemy charge in front and reare; your front must continue as it did, but the word for the reare is:

a The Amphiplo-  
mus Phalange.

\* *Half the files face about to the right or left hand.*

If the enemy charge you on both flanks, then is the word of command.

b The Antiplo-  
mus Phalange.

b *Half the ranks face to the right, half to the left hand.*

If in front and one flanke, the front standeth firme, and the word for the flanke that is charged, is:

The Plesium.

*Half the ranks of the right (or left) flanke, Face to the hand named.*

If in front and both flanks, the front is to stand firme, and both the flanks to face to the enemy. And this is done in a hollow square or Plesium, and the word is:

*Flanks face one to the right the other to the left hand.*

If on all sides or round about, it is as before for the flanks: but for the reare,

*The reare face about to the right or left hand.*

Now in Countermarch of the reare, the ranke of file leaders is oftentimes commanded to face about to the right or left hand; In countermarch of the front, the ranke of bringers vp must doe the like, as wee shall see in Countermarch. Doubling is the second motion used in battaile, the precept of it in this in Ælian.

Doubling  
a Medon.18 *Double*18 *Double your depth.*

The word in our exercise for this motion is, Double your files; because files measure the depth of the battaile, or ranks measure the length. This doubling is made many ways. The first is, when the euen files (that is, the 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. file) fall into the odde; As if the doubling be to the right hand, the right hand corner file standeth firme, and is the first after doubling; the third is the second file, the fifth the third, and so the rest of the odde files in order. But the manner is, that the leaders of the second file fall directly behind the leader of the first file, and the second man of the second file behind the second man of the first, and so the rest of those two files. The same order is for the rest of the euen files, when they double the odde files. And the word is:

See Ælian cap.

*Double your files to the right or left hand.*

Another manner is, when halfe the body of files conueyes it selfe into the spaces of the other halfe of the body; be it to the right or left hand according to direction given; so that the first ranke of the halfe body, which is to moue, falls into the space next after the first ranke of the halfe body that standeth, and so the rest of the ranks of the halfe body that moueth, and the word is:

*Halfe the body double your files to the right or left hand.*

Another is, when files are doubled by a countermarch: As if the second file of the right or left hand (as it is appointed) countermarch, and the leader of that file place himselfe behind the bringer vp of the corner file to that hand, to which the doubling is to be made; and so the rest of the files of euen number, behind those of odde number; as the second behind the first, the fourth behind the third, the sixth behind the fifth, and so the rest. The word is:

*Double your files by countermarch to the right or left hand.*

The next word in Ælian is

*Double your length.*

That is, double your ranks, or front: (For as I before noted, the ranks make the length of the battaile) which likewise is many ways done. The first is, when the ranks of euen appellation, as the 2. 4. 6. 8. &c. fall out into the spaces of the odde, namely, into the spaces of the 1. 3. 5. 7. &c. which stand before them and place themselves euen with them in ranke. The word is:

*Double your ranks to the right or left hand.*

Another way is, when the bringers vp (their halfe files following them)

I 3

by

## The Tactics of Ælian, or

by countermarch) aduance vp to the front, and place themselves in the spaces betwixt the file-leaders to the hand appointed, and the rest of the ranks accordingly, namely, the ninth ranke in the spaces of the second, the eight in the spaces of the third, the seuen in the fourth, the sixth in the spaces of the fifth. And the word is :

*Bringers vp, double your front by countermarch to the right or left hand.*

Another is, when the reare-halfe-files, one halfe face to the right, the other to the left hand, and diuiding themselves, march out till they bee past the flanks of the standing halfe-files : Then facing to the front, sleeue vp and front with the standing halfe-files. Then the word is :

*Reare halfe-files, double your front by diuision to the right and left hand.*

Another way is, when the reare-halfe-files vndiuided, face to the hand appointed, and being beyond the flanke of the rest of the body, face to the front and sleeue vp, and ioine in front with the standing halfe-files. The word is :

*Reare halfe-files, enter double your front to the right or left hand.*

It is to be obserued, that in all these motions of doubling ranks or front, the souldiers are to returne after their motion to their first posture, which is done by facing about to the right or left hand, and then by mouing, and by recovering their first place. The word is :

*As you were.*

3 Motion.

Countermarch is the third motion vsed in the change of a battaile. The vse and necessity thereof appeareth in Ælian before, and that there are two kindes, one by file, the other by ranke. The words of command that hee here setteth downe, are onely of countermarch by file, which may be reduced to two kindes, viz. the Countermarch of the front and the Countermarch of the reare. That of the front hath likewise two kindes, the Lacedemonian and the Chorean : That of the reare onely one, and it is called the Macedonian Countermarch. Now Ælian direction followeth.

### 20 The Lacedemonian Countermarch.

This is one of the Countermarches by file, and of the front. The manner is, that the file-leaders beginne the Countermarch and place beyond the reare, their files following them. In our exercise the word is :

*Countermarch the front to the right or to the left hand.*

It is done after another sort also, as when the bringers vp face about to the right or left hand, and then the whole body facing about to the same hand, passe thorow the spaces of the bringers vp to the same hand and the ninth ranke, beginning the rest of the ranks after one another, place themselves euery particular man before his follower in the same file, till the file-leaders are first. The word is :

*Bringers*

## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

*Bringers vp face to the right, or to the left hand. The rest beginning at the ninth ranke, passe thorow to the same hand, and place every man himselfe before his follower.*

*As you were.*

In Ælian followeth :

### 22 The Macedonian Countermarch.

We in our exercise teame this Countermarch of the reare, and it is done in two manners : First, when the bringers vp begin the Countermarch, and their files following, passe thorow the spaces of the file-leaders, till the file-leaders become the last of the file, and then the whole body face about, and stand. The word is :

*Countermarch the reare to the right or left hand. Face about to the contrary hand, and stand.*

The other when the file-leaders face about to either hand, and the rest of the ranks beginning at the second ranke, successiue pass thorow the spaces of the file leaders to the hand appointed, placing themselves euery man behind his next leader, and facing about as they did. The word is :

*File-leaders face about, the rest of the ranks passe thorow, and place yourselves behinde your next leaders.*

The next in Ælian is :

### 24 The Chorean Countermarch.

This Countermarch is of the front, as I said, but it keepeth the ground, that the body had before the file-leaders (their files following them) removed to the places of the bringers vp, and the bringers vp to the places that the file-leaders had. The word is :

*File-leaders, countermarch to the right or left hand, and stand, viz. when they come to the bringers vp.*

Other Countermarches there are, which are not here set downe by Ælian, but are remembered in his Chapter of Countermarches, of which the countermarch by ranks of the whole battaile is one, the other is the countermarch by ranks in the parts. And as in the Countermarch of the front or reare, the ranks first began to moue, so in Countermarch of the flanks, the files entire beginne to moue; and as in the Countermarch of the front or reare, the ranks followed one another by file, so in Countermarch of the flanks, the files follow one another by ranke : that is, the souldiers of euery ranke follow one another. If you would countermarch the right flanke, so to change one side of the battaile for the other, the word is :

*Countermarch the right flanke to the left hand.*

3 4

1  
2  
3  
4

## The Tactics of Ælian, or

In countermarching the left flanke, the word is;

*Countermarch the left flanke to the right hand.*

To countermarch the wings into the midst, both the vttermost corner-files are to moue toward the midst, their halfe ranks following them, and meeting in the midst to stand there, and face to the front; and the word is;

*Countermarch our wings into the midst of the battaile.*

Obserue, that in Countermarch by ranke, the three Countermarches *Macedonian*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Choræan* may be practised, as well as in Countermarch by file. If the flanke nearest to the enemy begin the Countermarch, this the Macedonian countermarch, because it maketh a thew of shifting away. If the flanke furthest from the enemy begin, it is the Lacedæmonian, in that it carrieth a semblance of falling on. But when one flanke countermarcheth, till it come iust vp to the other, and no further; it is the Choræan, because it keepeth the same ground.

The fourth Motion,

Wheeling is the fourth and last motion; and it is vsed in the whole entire battaile, & in the parts thereof. *Ælian* giueth words of direction for the whole battaile onely, and they are these;

*Wheele the body to the Pike, or to the Target.*

When the battaile is to wheele to the pike or right hand, the right hand corner file-leader is onely to turne his body by litle and litle to the right hand, facing euen with the ranke of file-leaders, till such time as hee haue gained the right hand aspect; and the rest are to moue about him, making him the center, as it were of their circled motion. If to the left hand, the left hand corner file leader is to doe the like. The same order is of wheeling the battaile about to the right or left hand. *Ælian* (as I haue) giueth here no other words of command, then for the wheeling of the whole body, yet are the wheelings of the parts of great vie; for either the flankes are wheeled into the front, or the front into the flankes. The front is wheeled into the flankes, when we desire to forme the *Antitonus* & halange to resist the enemy, giuing on both flankes. And then the two middlemost bringers vp are to stand, and the middle file-leaders to diuinde themselves, and to moue halfe the battaile to the right, halfe to the left hand, making those two bringers vp the center of the motion. In this the word is;

*Wheele the front into flankes by diuision.*

If the flankes be to be wheeled into the front, the two middle file-leaders are to stand still, and the two halfe bodies to moue about them, one to the right hand, the other to the left, till the two flankes be in the front, and the front in the midst. This kind is practised when we would frame the *Di-phalange Antitonus*. The word is:

*Wheele*

## the Art of Embattailing Armies.

*Wheele the flankes into the front.*

It is to be remembered, that after euery motion a restitution to the first posture is to be commanded in these words; *As you were.*

In facing you are to returne to the contrary hand, as if the command were to face to the right, in returning you come to the left.

In doubling you must doe the like.

In countermarch likewise, whether you countermarch the whole body, or the parcels thereof, you are to returne by the contrary hand.

After wheeling, there ought to be a facing to the same hand first before you returne, and then a returning the contrary way about the same corner file-leader, about whom the motion was first made. This is to be vnderstood of wheeling the whole body.

In wheeling the front into the flankes, after wheeling performed, the body before returning is to face to the Commander, then to returne about the same bringers vp, till all come to be as they were.

In wheeling the flankes into the front, after the wheeling is made, the body is to face likewise to the Commander, then facing about to the right or left hand to return to the first posture about the two middle file-leaders, as about their center.

*Hic castrametumque repono.*

**FfXfS.**



# The Contents of the CHAPTERS of this B O O K E.



<b>T</b> HE broad-fronted Phalange, the deepe Phalange, or Horse, and the even-fronted Phalange.	Chapter 30
Parcmbole, Protaxis, Epitaxis, Prostaxis, Entaxis, and Hypotaxis.	Chap. 31
The Use and advantage of these exercise of Armes.	chap. 34
Of the signes of direction which are to be given to the Army, and of their severall kinds.	chap. 35
Of marching, and of the diuers kinds of Battailles fit for a march. And first of the right Induction, of the Calembolos, and of the Triphalange, to be opposed against it.	chap. 36
Of the Paragoge or Deduction.	chap. 37
Of the Phalange Amphistomus.	chap. 38
Of the Phalange Anistomus.	chap. 39
Of the Diphalance Anistomus.	chap. 40
Of the Peristomus Diphalance.	chap. 41
Of the Diphalance homoiostomus, and of the Plinthism.	chap. 42
Of the Diphalance Heterostomus.	chap. 43
Of the Horse Rhombe, and of the Foot-halfe-Moone to encounter it.	chap. 44
Of the Horse-battaille Heteromekes, and the Plagiophalange to be opposed against it.	chap. 45
Of another kind of Rhombe for Horse-men, and of the foot-battaille called Epicampios Emprosthia to encounter it.	chap. 46
Of the Foot-battaille called Cyrie, which is to be set against the Epicampios.	chap. 47
Of the Tetragonall Horse-battaille, and of the Wedge of Foot to be opposed against it.	chap. 48
Of the Foot-battaille called Pleisim, and of the Winding or Saw-fronted battaille to encounter it.	chap. 49
Of the Hyperphalanges, and Hyperkerasis, and of Astenuation.	chap. 50
Of conueighing the carriage of the Army.	chap. 51
Of the words of Command, and certaine obseruations about them.	chap. 52
Of the words of Direction.	chap. 54

FINIS.